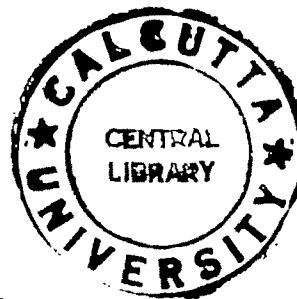


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A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF CHAKMA

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALCUTTA FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.) IN LINGUISTICS**



SCANNED

BY

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PREFACE

The present work is an outcome of my interest in the Chakma language and Chittagong Bengali, a variety of Bengali. My mother hails from Chittagong, Bangladesh and presently we have Chakmas as our neighbours, in Kolkata. Similarities as well as dissimilarities of Chakma with Standard Colloquial Bengali and Chittagong Bengali interested me a lot. Henceforth, after the completion of M.A., I engaged myself in the present research work.

For the purpose of field work I had been to Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh and collected data on Chakma as spoken by the native speakers of that speech who are the locals of Rangamati. In Bangladesh I met different eminent scholars also.

I am particularly obliged to my respected teacher, Dr. Mrs. Krishna Bhattacharya, Professor, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Calcutta, for her kind guidance, encouragement and suggestions that she offered me. This work could not have been completed without her. She extended her helping hand at every step of analysis. I am also indebted to Sri S. S. Bhattacharya, formerly Head of the Office, Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India, for his sustaining advice and valuable suggestions.

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Sumana Bhattacharyya

October, 2004

ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	=	Ablative
acc	=	Accusative
Adj.	=	Adjective
Adv.	=	Adverb
CB	=	Chittagong Bengali
CHT	=	Chittagong Hill Tracts
Con.	=	Conditional
Conj.	=	Conjunction
Def.	=	Definitive affix
fut. ind.	=	Future Indefinite
gen.	=	Genitive
hon.	=	Honorific
inf.	=	Infinitive
instr.	=	Instrumental
int. par.	=	Interrogative Particle
KC	=	Kolkata Chakma
loc.	=	Locative
neg. par.	=	Negative Particle
Nom.	=	Nominative
non-hon.	=	Non-honorific
Opt.	=	Optative
Pl.	=	Plural
RC	=	Rangamati Chakma
SCB	=	Standard Colloquial Bengali
Sg	=	Singular
past. ind	=	Past Indefinite
past. imp.	=	Past Imperative
past. impf.	=	Past Imperfective
past. perf.	=	Past Perfective
pre. ind.	=	Present Indefinite
pre. imp	=	Present Imperative
pre. imf.	=	Present Imperfective
pre. perf.	=	Present Perfective
2nd	=	Second Person
3rd	=	Third Person

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CHAPTER – 1

Introduction

1.1.0 CHAKMA — NAME AND POPULATION

Chakma is spoken by a group of people called the Chakma or Changma in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh. The word *Chakma* comes from two Burmese words : *Chang* ‘an elephant’ and *mang* ‘a trapper.’ Therefore, the word *Chakma* refers to the people who are expert in trapping elephants (Ghosal, 1996: 122). In the hilly region of CHT other tribes like Magh, Kuki, Lushai, Murung, Pankho, Banjogi etc. also live and of all the tribes, the Chakmas are the largest in population. The Chakmas are considered “comparatively more intelligent and progressive than the rest of the Chittagong Hill Tribes.” (Rajput, 1965:5,2). The strength of the Chakmas in Rangamati is estimated one lakh fifty seven thousand three hundred and eighty five (Roy, 2000:9). According to the 1991 census the strength of the Chakma speakers in India is one lakh eighty two thousand nine hundred and fifty three and the Chakma Scheduled Tribe population in West Bengal is three hundred and twenty.¹

1.2.0 ORIGIN OF THE CHAKMA PEOPLE

Origin of the Chakma is a matter of controversy as there exist diverse opinions. Supriya Talukdar (1987:27) opines that the Chakma people probably belong to the Thai or Shan group and the word Changma has been derived from Shan-ma or Shang-ma or Shyam-ma. C.R. Chakma (1986:67-68) mentions that, as there are similarities between the Chakma and the Brahmi scripts, it is also possible that the Chakmas are the descendants of the Shakya race of ancient India. S.P. Talukdar (1988:6) mentions that “The word CHAWNGMA or SAWNGMA or CHAKMA or CHUKMA means people of Tsak or Thek clan who are the progenitors of the Burmese race.” Again, he (1988:6) clarifies that the Arakanese word ‘Khyeng-tha’ signifies “People or nation living near water. In Burmese the pronunciation khy-chaw i.e. Khyeng-tha→chaw-eng-tha means Chakma.” According to R.H. Sneyd Hutchinson (1909:8) “the Chittagong Hill Tracts were originally occupied by the different tribes belonging to the Kuki group. They yielded to and were driven to the north-east by the invasion of the Chakmas who had gained a settlement in the southern portion of the district

of Chittagong, but who, in the time of the Burmese wars, were ousted by the Maghs from Arakan and forced to enter the hill Tracts.” Again he (1909:14) says “the tribes that inhabit the Hill Tracts may be divided into those of undoubted Arakanese origin as the Chakma and Maghs and those of mixed origin, in all probability the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.”

According to Capt. T. H. Lewin (1869:28) “the tribes that inhabit the Hill Tracts of Chittagong may be named and classified as follows: 1. The Khyoungtha or Children of the River, who are of pure Arracanese origin, speaking the ancient Arracan dialect and conforming in every way to Buddhist customs. Under this head may also be named the Chuckma tribe.” Again he (1869:65) writes “—— whatever opinion may be formed of the primal origin of the Thek or Chukma, a tribe, no doubt can exist as to their having been at one time inhabitants of the province of Arracan, from whence they have migrated to the hills.”

1.3.0 THE CHAKMAS AS A TRIBE

Conventionally, to the anthropologists a tribe refers to a group of ‘primitive’ people living in underdeveloped and remote areas forming a separate society of their own where linguistic and cultural boundaries and also an independent political system and primitive economy are easily ascertained. Having no or very little command over technology they depend on “hunting” and “primitive” agriculture and practise animism, totemism etc. Indigenous medicare, a characteristic feature is also corollary to tribes who are backward in all aspects of life. According to A.B. Rajput (1965:2) the Tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts “are ethnically different from the plainsmen of East Pakistan” Living in remote areas almost inaccessible to the outsiders they developed their own identity as an ethnic group.

1.3.1 APPEARANCE

In their physical features they resemble the people of “Thailand and Vietnam” (S.R. Maitra, 1976:42 unpublished). Again it has been stated, “there is no doubt that the Chakmas belong to Mongolian race.” (S.R. Maitra, 1976:42 unpublished). Their hair is coarse and straight, nose is mesorhine to platyrrhine, skin is yellowish brown, and height is either medium or short. Again, Shelley M. R. (1992:42) opines, “the Chakmas are mongoloid race, probably of Arakanese race”

1.3.2 OCCUPATION

Their traditional occupation is forest-based agriculture i.e. “jhum” cultivation (shifting cultivation). Besides, fishing, hunting, basket-making etc. are their traditional sources of livelihood.

1.3.3 HOUSES

Chakmas live in bamboo-houses or thatched cottages on bamboo sticks on hills to protect themselves from wild animals.

1.3.4 DRESS

Chakmas are great weavers. The Chakma men usually wear “dhoti” and the Chakma women “pinan-khadi”, and “alam”, one kind of colourful stole. The men-folk love to wear a white-turban.

1.3.5 FOOD AND DRINK

The Chakmas are agriculturists by profession. Rice is their staple food. They are also fond of different kinds of vegetables and meat. They like drinking ‘Jagra’, ‘Kanji’, indigenous liquor.

1.3.6 RELIGION

Chakmas are Buddhists by religion, though they believe in tribal cult. Animism and other tribal cults are discernible among the Chakmas. “Ojhas” or medicine-men drive away evil spirits by performing spells. “Biju” (celebrated on the eve of the new year) and “Buddha Purnina” (birth anniversary of Lord Buddha) are the major Chakma festivals.

1.3.7 CHAKMA SOCIETY

The Chakmas are proud of their royal tradition. Previously they were ruled by the Chakma kings. The Chakmas are divided into different clans or “gosthis”. The headman of this tribal society or the king tries to settle any kind of confusions, conflicts, and disputes among the clans. In their tribal society the Chakma women enjoy freedom to a great extent and they are true help-mates of the Chakma men in their domestic chores and work outside home. It is also interesting to note that free mixing of unmarried girls and boys is permissible in the Chakma society.

At present, like many other ‘tribal’ communities, Chakmas cannot be marked as ^a‘tribe’ following the anthropological norms as most of them are no longer adhering to such basic characteristics. Because of the influence of Hinduism and Christianity, and because of the impact of Modernisation, Urbanisation, cash and market economy, modern education etc., many basic cultural traits of these people have been driven away. Further, they have adopted many basic characteristics of the people of the main stream (i.e. the Bengali people & their culture). There are tribes who are Scheduled Tribes declared by Government. As far as the

Chakmas are concerned, the present situation is as follows: the Chakmas are notified as a tribe in Bangladesh (Roy, 2000:9). In India they also come under the constitutional category of the Scheduled Tribe in Tripura, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam and West Bengal (Singh, 1991:357)

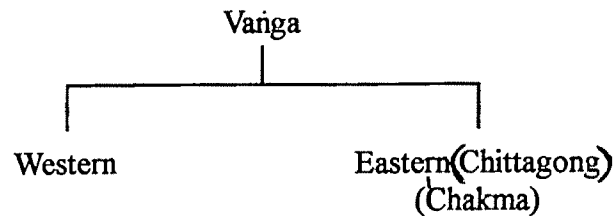
1.4.0 CHAKMA SPEECH AND SCRIPT

The Chakmas have not only their own form of speech, they have also a separate script though it is not widely used by them in modern times. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that ‘Āgar Tārā, a religious book of the Chakmas is written in the Chakma script. The period or time when the Chakma script came into existence is not known even by the Chakmas (Chakma, C.R. 1986 : 67-68). The status of Chakma as a language or a dialect is still a matter of controversy. Diverse opinions are as follows : Grierson (1903 : 1994 : 321) says that though Chakma is a “broken dialect of Bengali,” it “has undergone so much transformation that it is almost worthy of the dignity of being classed as a separate language.” He again mentions that “it is written in an alphabet which, ... is almost identical with the Khm̐r character, which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Annam, Siam and at least, the southern parts of Burma. This khm̐r alphabet is, in its turn, the same as that which was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries.” Chatterji (1951 : 1974 : 174) states, “the Chakma dialect of Bengali spoken by the Buddhist Chakma tribe living in Chittagong Hill Districts, is Chittagong Bengali, with some features which connect it with West Bengali and Assamese.” In this connection it is interesting to take note of a letter written by Chatterji (1967, in Talukdar 1988 : 217) containing his views on the nature of Chakma. Chatterji writes, “among the various forms of Bengali, the Chakma dialect of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts, which has also spread into Burma, is of very linguistic importance. It would appear to be a form of South Eastern Bengali as spoken in Chittagong but there has been a very widespread phonetic decay or development and at times along new lines. Then the morphological system also shows some new inflections. Further, the syntax has some special characteristics of its own. The language, compared with any other form of Bengali, appears to be very much abbreviated and attenuated. In its vocabulary there are words from Arakan (Burma) and a number of unexplained words which make its study very tantalising.” As stated by S.K. Chatterji (1926 : 1970 : 140) dialects of Bengali are of four types :

- (1) Rādha (2) Varēndra, (3) Kāma – rūpa and (4) Vaṅga

Vaṅga dialects are of two types : Western and Eastern.

In the Eastern group Chakma is grouped under Chittagong



Punya Sloke Ray(1966:2) is of the opinion that Chakma is a “highly diviant dialect”.

As Capt. T. H. Lewin (1869:65) says, “the elders among them are still acquainted with the Arracanese vernacular but the present generation is fast amalgamating with the rest of the tribe and use with them a corrupt species of Bengalee. Some words are in general use among the Chakmas, which are apparently derived neither from Arracanese nor Bengalee roots, and from which possibly some clues may be gained as to their origin.” He also states (1869:66) that they “have a written character peculiar to the tribe, but the form of the letters show that they are merely a rude adaptation of the Arracanese alphabet.” R.H. Sneyd Hutchinson (1909:18) states “Bengali is the court language and is more or less understood throughout the Hill Tracts,.... Chakma is a dialect of Bengali written in corrupt Burmese character.” Pierre Bessaignet (1958:10) writes that the Chakma tribe “has been affected by Bengali influence more than any other of the Chittagong tribal groups. Although ancient manuscripts reveal that the original Chakma language was written in Burmese characters and probably was a Burmese dialect, the common tongue today is a corrupted form of Bengali.” S.R. Maitra (1976 : 42) considers the speech of the Chakmas to be Bengali but “not similar with the prevalent Bengali language. It is shorter and corrupt form of the original Bengali language.” Satishchandra Ghosh (1909 : 321) also opines that the Chakmas use nothing but the “shorter” and “corrupted” Bengali. In “Atlas of the World’s languages,” (Asher and Mosely, 1994:208) Chakma is designated as a “tribal language” whose “genetic affiliation” is with “Indo-Aryan languages.” In the book named “The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh : The Untold Story”(Shelley, M.R. 1992 : 49), it has been said that “the language of the Chakma....is an archaic dialect, variant of Chittagong Bengali written in corrupt Burmese character. There are 28 religious books of the Chakma, all of which are in Pali.” In the same book again we find (P. 44)“ the tracts are at present inhabited by 13 tribes, each speaking its own distinct dialect. The three principal tribes are Chakmas, Marmas and Tripuras.”

1.5.0 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Though the Chittagong Hill Tracts are the original homeland of the Chakmas, due to

socio-political turbulence they in a large number migrated to India and dispersed to different parts of the eastern and north-eastern states of India. Their main concentration is in Tripura, Assam, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and West Bengal (Singh, 1991: 357).² A considerable number of the Chakmas have been living in different parts of West Bengal for a long time. As opposed to the Chinese people settled in particular areas of Kolkata, W.B., the Chakmas are located sporadically in different pockets of the Kolkata city and its adjoining areas.

In West Bengal as per information collected from “Shishu Karuna Sangha” (the only social organization of the Chakmas in West Bengal, situated in Kolkata which has contacts with most of the Chakma families living in West Bengal and outside) the Chakmas live mainly in the districts of Darjeeling, Midnapore, Burdwan, North 24 Parganas, Howrah and in the metropolitan district of Kolkata. Furthermore, according to their information, the Chakmas are primarily concentrated in Kolkata and its adjoining areas in West Bengal. Rajarhat, Baguiati, Lake Town, Jora Mandir, Kasba, Ballygunge, Salt Lake, Barasat, and Madhyamgram are their main pockets in Kolkata and its suburbs (Shishu Karuna Sangha: Personal Communication).

The Chakmas have been living in Kolkata and its adjoining areas for many years. For obvious reasons they are not in their traditional profession and are mostly working in business houses, government offices, railways, banks, airlines and in schools like other communities. In West Bengal, they constitute a small community dispersed and surrounded by the majority community i.e. the Bengali community. It appears from the preliminary observation that the speech of the Chakmas residing in and around Kolkata does not retain its original character. It seems to have undergone some changes being surrounded by a dominant speech community, ethnically different. It is, therefore, felt to undertake a research project on this form of Chakma in comparison with the form spoken in their original homeland.

1.6.0 PREVIOUS LITERATURE

Grierson (1903 : 321–324) gives a short account of Chakma including its sound system, script and grammar. Chatterji (1951) expresses his views on the status of Chakma. In this connection we can quote Chatterji (1967 in Talukdar S.P., 1988 : 217) : “I would suggest that some of the young men and women studying for higher degree in Calcutta should form themselves into a study group and start collecting materials in Chakma,... But the more important thing would be to preserve the language by its study and by gathering the floating material which is on the way to passing into oblivion.”

Maniruzzaman (1994 and 1994) deals with phonology, syntax and morphology of Rangamati Chakma in some detail. Maniruzzaman still admits (Personal Communication) that there is enough scope for further research on Chakma. No linguistic study has so far been done on Chakma spoken in Kolkata and its adjoining areas, which appears to have undergone some changes, being surrounded by a dominant speech community i.e. the Bengali speech community. It is, therefore, important to undertake a research project on this form of Chakma in comparison with the form spoken in their original homeland.

1.7.0 SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

The present analysis aims at describing Chakma as spoken in and around Kolkata at different levels of linguistic analysis in comparison with the form of Chakma as spoken in Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh). For that purpose it is required to study the structure of Chakma as spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) mainly in Rangamati separately. In addition, the study also attempts to offer some observations on the use of Chakma among the Chakma people of Kolkata proper and greater Kolkata. According to different eminent linguists like S.K. Chatterji (1967, in Talukdar 1988: 217) and Maniruzzaman (1994:158), there exist structural similarities between Chittagong Bengali and Chakma. So, incidentally, in the present work an attempt has been made to describe some significant structural similarities between Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma as well.

1.8.0 HYPOTHESIS

As already mentioned, Chakma is basically spoken in and around Rangamati, Chittagong (Bangladesh). While conducting a pilot survey it has been noticed by the present researcher that the Chakmas residing in and around Kolkata are in a state of transition. They are fast getting assimilated and integrated into the Bengali speaking community in West Bengal with whom they are living as close neighbours for decades. They are losing their ethnic identity in dress and food habits, customs, beliefs, and also in speech. In this new context it is clear that the Chakmas, the linguistic minorities in West Bengal, live under the pressure of the dominant group speaking Standard Colloquial Bengali. In this linguistic environment they do not get full exposure to their mother tongue and are not motivated instrumentally to learn Chakma. Most of them are accustomed or feel comfortable to interact in languages other than Chakma even with their Chakma counterparts. Hence, the Chakmas settled in and around Kolkata are losing their grip on Chakma and deviation from Chakma or changes at phonological, morphological and syntactical levels of their speech are now very common. There is also a

change in their attitudes towards their mother tongue. The present research work is based on this hypothesis and it attempts to scale the changes in their speech as well as in their attitude.

1.9.0 METHODOLOGY

The present work is based on the principles of structural linguistics as well as sociolinguistics. First, the present work attempts to find out how the standard of Chakma spoken in and around Rangamati is maintained in the speech of the Kolkata Chakmas migrated in and around Kolkata and how this form of Chakma in the milieu of standard Bengali speakers has deviated at different levels viz. phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical. Secondly, the study also aims at locating the domains of the use of Chakma in and around Kolkata.

This research work is data oriented i.e. the investigation is based on collection of adequate language data from the speakers of Chakma in Kolkata and its suburbs as well as in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as the Chakmas of Rangamati form the reference group of the Chakmas of Kolkata. Language data is collected not only for the description of Chakma but also for comparison with that of the reference groups. Thus, this involves field study in both Kolkata in extended term (India) and Rangamati (Bangladesh).

Two methods are followed for the collection of data: 1) Recording of speech samples and 2) Interviews with the informants.

Language data are collected and recorded through IPA transcription.

The transcribed data are analysed scientifically following the principles of structural linguistics for preparation of grammatical description. For the purpose of investigation, index cards and questionnaires (sociolinguistics) are used and distributed among the Chakmas living in the areas covered under the present study to ascertain the information of linguistic acculturation and language attitudes of the Kolkata Chakmas of different age groups and professions, as well as in different domains.

1.10.0 PLAN OF WORK

The present study has six chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic. The second, third and the fourth chapters deal with phonology, morphology and syntax respectively. The fifth chapter contains observations on linguistic acculturation and language attitude of the Chakmas residing in and around Kolkata. In the sixth chapter there will be some concluding remarks on the basis of the present analysis.

CHAPTER – 2

Phonology

2.1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to describe the phonology of Chakma as spoken in and around Kolkata. In addition, the phonology of Chakma which is spoken in Rangamati, its homeland in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, has also been dealt with briefly. It is important to take note of the fact that the description of the latter is necessary for the sake of comparison between the two so that the on-going changes can be described. So there is also a contrastive study between Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma from the phonological point of view.

2.2.0 PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF KOLKATA CHAKMA

2.2.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES AND PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Chakma segmental phonemes are assigned to two categories : i) Vowels and (ii) Consonants. In Kolkata Chakma there are seven vowel phonemes and these are as follows :

	VOWELS		
	Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded
High / Close	i		u
High-Mid / Half-Close	e		o
Low-Mid / Half-Open	æ		ɔ
Low / Open		a	

Nasalisation of vowels is a growing tendency.

In this variety of Chakma, 22 consonant phonemes are observed :

Stop	: / p, b, bh, t, d, dh, k, g, gh /	Lateral	: / l /
Affricate	: / tʃ, dʒ /	Rolled	: / r /
Fricative	: / s, z, h /	Flapped	: / ɾ /
Nasal	: / m, n, ŋ /	Semi-vowel	: / w, y /

These are tabulated below with places and manners of articulation.

Consonants of Kolkata Chakma

Pulmonic																
	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stop	p (ϕ)	b (bh)	t (th)	d (dh)									k (x)	g (gh)		
Affricate									tʃ	dʒ						
Fricative					s (ʃ)	z									h	
Nasal		m				n								ŋ		
Lateral						l										
Rolled						r										
Flapped								ɾ								
Semi-vowel		w										y				

Functional loads of [ϕ], [th] and [x] are remarkable. So these are shown in the table. Further, the functional load of [ʃ] is observed to be less in comparison with [s].

2.2.2 VOWELS

2.2.2.1 Distribution of Vowels

In Kolkata Chakma, all the vowels are distributed in word-initial, medial and final positions.

/ i / in the word-initial position, such as :

idu	'here'	indrɔ	'the king of heaven'
ikkine	'now'	in̩git	'signal'
in̩red ₃	'the English'	id ₃ d ₃ ot	'prestige'
ittun	'from here'	iran	'Iran'
ilibili	'zigzag'	ilis	'a kind of fish'
ittug	'little by little'	iyan	'it, this'
istiri	'iron'	indrɔɸuri	'the place of king Indra'
irukgɔrɔn	'modernization'	ind ₃ eb gɔrana	'justify', 'consider'
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'	iman	'conscience'
imandar	'honest'	indi	'here'
iziryæ	'hint'	iziryæ gɔrana	'to hint'
it	'brick'	ithɔla	'brick field'
iridena	'to give up'	itya	'beloved'

/ i / in the word-medial position, such as :

dogin	'south'	sigon	'little'
sit	'heart'	sit d ₃ urana	'to please the mind'
sidya	'thought'	sin	'identity', 'mark'
sin sin	'twinging sensation'	d ₃ imbya	'custody'
zindya	'alive'	zila	'district'
d ₃ ilik	'brightness'	d ₃ ilebi	'a kind of sweet-meat'
d ₃ ibanu	'germ'	nirɔg	'healthy', 'free from disease'
nilem	'auction'	nibban	'complete emancipation' (of the individual soul)
nilemi	'relating to auction'	nidi	'moral ethics'
nidiɓan	'moralist'	nilmoni	'sapphire'

φizit	‘hurry’	φid	‘faint’
φibir φibir gori	‘slowly’	φirana	‘come back’
φiriŋ	‘grasshopper’	mittor	‘friend’
bil	‘lake’	biley	‘cat’
bileŋ	‘luxury’		

/ i / in the word-final position, such as :

thuguri	‘chin’	φagi	‘deceit’, ‘trick’
bini	‘sweet’, ‘delicious’	bini sol	‘a kind of rice’
naŋi	‘pulse’	thali	‘clapping of hands’
thalimali	‘fun and merriment’	thəφəsili	‘scheduled’
thobosi	‘hermit’, ‘devotee’	dʒidi	‘adamant’
sili	‘bark’	sigi	‘male rat’
guli	‘bullet’	gurguri	‘children’
guri	‘girl’, ‘little one’	gəŋəni	‘calculation’
xoti	‘loss’	xabuli	‘Afgani’
xobi	‘poet’	dərani	‘alarming’, ‘terrifying’
dəladoli	‘party spirit’, ‘party turmoil’	bondi	‘captive’
bədadudi	‘wrestling’		

/ e / in the word-initial position, such as :

eyan	‘this one’	eghuŋi	‘twenty’
egnayək	‘dictator’	egnayəkthəntro	‘dictatorship’
el	‘green’	eʃiya	‘Asia’
elaxa	‘area’	eraeri	‘separation’
eφril	‘April’	endi undi	‘this and that’
eφar	‘this side’	eφar oφar	‘this side and other’
eŋthenj beŋthenj	‘negligence of duty’	egot	‘sudden’
egotgori	‘suddenly’	elaφela	‘careless’, ‘negligence’
eŋela hugur	‘male dog’	eŋeli hugur	‘female dog’
ethare	‘to him or her’		

/ e / in the word-medial position, such as :

thena	'rag'	thep thep	'word denoting dropping'
thebil	'table'	thelon	'boiler'
thep	'curved'	neḡali	'inhabitant of Nepal'
neta	'leader'	neti	'female leader'
netami	'leadership'	ḡensil	'pencil'
beyman	'treacherous'	beymani	'treachery'
bexar	'unemployed'	begar	'unpaid worker'

/ e / in the word-final position, such as :

xale xale	'in course of time'	xune xune	'corner to corner'
xure xure	'lying near'	ḡe	'of motion'
ḡe ḡe	'without changing the motion'	gelde	'last', 'past'

/ æ / in the word-initial position, such as :

æra	'flesh'	æk	'one'
ægaro	'eleven'	æktʃollitʃ	'forty one'
æxanno	'fifty one'	æksɒʃti	'sixty one'
æxattor	'seventy one'	æxasi	'eighty one'
æxanobboy	'ninety one'	æksə	'one hundred'
æbbæræ	'entirely'	æktal	'many'
ænoʃtyæ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'		

/ æ / in the word-medial position, such as :

sædeya	'proud'	særet gori	'quickly'
dʒæmithi	'geometry'	dʒær	'back'
dʒærendi	'at last'	dæzi	'home-made', 'country made'
dædar	'profuse'	dæna	'debt'
dænadar	'debtor'	dæbaxul	'race of gods'
dæbatta	'sacred', 'holy'	dæboradʒa	'the king of gods'
dæmak	'gravity'	dæmakya	'proud'
dæratʃ	'drawer'	dæʃgun	'one and a half'

bæn	'loom'	bænət bunnya	'wooven', 'handloom'
bæɾana	'walk'	bærannya	'nomad'
mæd ₃ atʃ	'temper'	mæg	'cloud'
mæydi	'temporary', 'conditional'		

/ æ / in the word-final position, such as :

lɔgæ	'with'	d ₃ ɔkkɔnæ	'when', 'while'
d ₃ ɔdebɔdæ	'right', 'correct'	d ₃ ænæ	'where to', 'so that'
d ₃ ænæ ʃænæ	'any how', 'somehow'	red ₃ d ₃ yæ	'kingdom', 'territory'
laŋyæ	'boy friend', 'paramour'	sikyæ	'spiteful', 'malicious'
thigyæ	'lasting'	sabeyæ	'printed'
saryæ	'separation'	iziryæ	'hint'
iziryæ ɡɔrana	'to hint'	æbbæræ	'entirely'
		thɔlæ	'low'
ænɔtɔyæ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'		

/ u / in the word-initial position, such as :

ugun	'louse'	uguryæ	'upstairs'
utʃtʃur	'dedication'	utʃtʃorana	'dedicate'
uttor	'answer, north'	uttor hal	'future time'
uttor ɡɔrana	'to answer'	um	'heat'
umi	'illiterate'		
ubot	'reversed'	umor	'age', 'life'
ulot palot	'disorder'	uskani	'provoke'
uɾiya	'inhabitant or language of Orissa'	ugureæ uguræ	'on the top', 'superficially'
uburana	'to uproot'	udol gatʃ	'a kind of tree'
unnɔti	'rise', 'progress'	unnɔtɔ	'developed', 'advanced'
ũzunizu	'high and low'	utsɔb	'festival'
umutʃtʃya hal	'summer season', 'hot weather'		
urgo	'flying'	ul	'wool'
ulor	'woolen'	uro	'sheds', 'den'

/ u / in the word-medial position, such as :

gud ₃ na	'insert'	gud ₃ ob	'rumour'
gutti	'a group of families having the same ancestor'	gudom	'godown'
gun	'quality'	gun gun	'humming'
gulmal	'noise'	gulgal	'plump'
d ₃ ud ₃ u	'welcome'	d ₃ un	'moon'
d ₃ ummo	'hilly peasant'	durbin	'telescope'
dur g ₃ rana	'remove'	bud ₃ d ₃ ya	'old man'
muni	'saint'	mukti	'freedom'
mukti φana	'to be set free'	mukti φotr ₃	'deed of release'
muri	'hill'	murubbi	'leader'
mul	'root'	muli	'yeast for making wine'
rub	'beauty'	rud ₃ i	'appetite'

/ u / in the word-final position, such as :

alu	'potato'	azu	'grandfather'
idu	'here'	bid ₃ u	'the Chakmanational festival'
φizu	'paternal great grandfather'	nanu	'grandmother'
haru	'bangle'	hudu	'where'

/ o / in the word-initial position, such as :

ostad	'master'	od ₃ on	'weight'
od ₃ on g ₃ rana	'weight', 'measure'	ori	'enemy'
oyar	'pillowcase'		

/ o / in the word-medial position, such as :

sok	'eye'	izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'
mittor	'friend'	xoti	'loss'
xobi	'poet'	d ₃ oladoli	'party spirit', 'party turmoil'
bondi	'captive'	æxanobboy	'ninety one'
uttor	'answer'	uttor hal	'future time'

uttor gōrana	‘to answer’	ubot	‘reserved’
umor	‘age’	ulot ꞥalot	‘disorder’
ulor	‘woolen’	id ₃ d ₃ ot	‘prestige’

/ o / in the word-final position, such as :

urgo	‘flying’	uro	‘shed, den’
d ₃ ummo	‘hilly peasant’		

/ ɔ / in the word-initial position, such as :

ɔzɔl	‘high’	ɔsug	‘disease’
ɔsugi	‘unhappy’	ɔstrɔ	‘weapon’
ɔɬur	‘demon’	ɔɬanti	‘disorder’
ɔɬɔt	‘wicked’	ɔdin	‘inauspicious day’
ɔza	‘pestle of a husking pedal’	ɔsɔl	‘immovable’, ‘paralysis’
ɔgɔlana	‘vomit’	ɔxal	‘bad season’
ɔboθar	‘incarnation’	ɔꞥɔbitrɔ	‘impure’
ɔnuman	‘guess’	ɔnuman gōrana	‘to guess’
ɔlɔŋxar	‘ornament’	ɔɬɔmɔy	‘improper time’
ɔɬɔti	‘unchaste’	ɔniti	‘immorality’
ɔli	‘rhyme’		

/ ɔ / in the word-medial position, such as :

lɔgæ	‘with’	irukgōrɔn	‘modernization’
θɔbɔsi	‘hermit’, ‘devotee’	gɔnɔni	‘calculation’
dɔrani	‘alarming’	dɔladoli	‘party spirit, party turmoil’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	gɔŋɔ gɔŋɔ	‘without changing the motion’
ɔɬɔt	‘wicked’		
ɔsɔl	‘immovable, paralysis’	ɔgɔlana	‘vomit’
ɔboθar	‘incarnation’	ɔꞥɔbitrɔ	‘impure’
ɔlɔŋxar	‘ornament’	ɔɬɔmɔy	‘improper time’
ɔɬɔti	‘unchaste’	agɔr	‘former’
agɔŋ	‘yes’	ɬɔmɔy	‘time’

/ ɔ / in the word-final position, such as :

byastɔ	'busy'	ɔstrɔ	'weapon'
ɔɸɔbitrɔ	'impure'	indrɔ	'the king of heaven'
ækʂɔ	'one hundred'	anɔndɔ	'delight'
ægærɔ	'eleven'	æxannɔ	'fifty one'
barɔ	'twelve'	thærɔ	'thirteen'
sulwɔ	'sixteen'	ɸɔnrɔ	'fifteen'
athærɔ	'eighteen'	sɔtrɔ	'seventeen'
satanno	'fifty seven'		

/ a / in the word-initial position, such as :

agatʃ	'sky'	alada	'separate'
ayn	'law'	agɔr	'former'
axar	'form'	agɔŋ	'yes'
aga	'tip'	aŋʃul	'finger'
azu	'grandfather'	atatya	'not heated'
ada	'ginger'	adam	'village'
adalɔt	'court'	aday	'collection'
adi	'prior', 'first'	andar	'dark'
anɔndɔ	'delight'	abad	'cultivated land'
abedɔn	'petition'	abedɔn ɡɔrana	'apply'
am	'mango'	amɽa	'hog-plum'
alu	'potato'	amɔl	'period'

/ a / in the word-medial position, such as :

xɔbal	'forehead'		
alada	'separate'	adam	'village'
adalɔt	'court'	aday	'collection'
agatʃ	'sky'	andar	'dark'
abad	'cultivated land'	ɔxal	'bad season'
ɔbɔthar	'incarnation'	ɔnuman	'guess'
ɔlɔŋxar	'ornament'	dæratʃ	'drawer'

bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	dɔrani	‘alarming’
ɔɔlana	‘vomit’	oyar	‘pillowcase’
æxəʃi	‘eighty one’	ægarɔ	‘eleven’
æktal	‘many’	dæmakkyɑ	‘proud’
dɔladoli	‘party spirit, party turmoil’		

/ a / in the word-final position, such as :

ɸada	‘leaf’	alada	‘separate’
aga	‘tip’	ada	‘ginger’
amɾa	‘hog-plum’	ɔza	‘pestle of a husking pedal’
æra	‘flesh’	dæna	‘debt’
dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’	dæbɔradʒa	‘the king of gods’
bæɾana	‘walk’	uburana	‘to uproot’
gudʒɔna	‘insert’	iridena	‘to give up’
zila	‘district’	elaxa	‘area’
eɾɟela hugur	‘male dog’		

2.2.2.2 Description of Vowels

Kolkata Chakma has seven vowels having their distinct phonemic status. These vowels are described in the following according to the three criteria— (a) the height of the tongue, (b) the part of the tongue raised and (c) the position of the lips.

The vowel / i / is high, front and unrounded.

The vowel / u / is high, back and rounded.

/ e / is realized as high-mid, front and unrounded.

/ o / is high-mid back and rounded.

/ æ / represents a low-mid front unrounded vowel.

/ ɔ / is realized as low-mid back rounded vowel.

/ a / represents a low central vowel.

In this connection it is to be noted that the vowel / ɔ / has greater functional load than / o / in the word-final position.

Again, the vowel / æ / points out greater functional load than / e / word-finally.

2.2.2.3 Length of Vowels

A significant point to be noted here is that in Kolkata Chakma, vowels do not exhibit variations in length i.e. phonemic distinctions between short and long vowels do not lead to the change of meaning of a word. When different words are uttered in isolation, not in a rapid speech some vowels are lengthened but that is due to the phonetic habits of a few Chakma speakers of Kolkata. So this feature is phonetic, not phonemic.

2.2.2.4 Nasalization of vowels

Nasalization of vowels is a growing tendency in Kolkata Chakma. Examples are the following :

hāt̚	‘duck’	φāt̚	‘five’
ṣ̃idur	‘vermilion’	ḍ̃ɔ̃k	‘leech’
dāt̚	‘tooth’	ṣ̃āt̚	‘ox’

2.2.3 CONSONANTS

2.2.3.1 Distribution of Consonants

All the consonants cannot be distributed word initially, medially and finally.

2.2.3.2 Description of Consonants

In Chakma of Kolkata, there are 22 consonant phonemes and they are distinct according to their place and manner of articulation. The most striking feature of the consonant phonemes is that many of them undergo neutralization with each other. In Kolkata Chakma, consonants are of the following types : stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, lateral, rolled, flapped and semi-vowels.

Stops : Stops are of two categories : voiceless stops and voiced stops (unaspirated and aspirated).

Voiceless stops : In Kolkata Chakma / k, t, p / are realized as velar, dental and bilabial stops.

The *velar voiceless stop* / k / has an allophone [x].

|k| can occur only in the word-final position e.g.

bok	‘stork’	nak	‘nose’
biφoḍ̃ḍ̃ɔ̃nək	‘dangerous’	nayək	‘actor’

buk	‘chest’	muk	‘mouth’, ‘face’
dʒilik	‘brightness’	dæmak	‘gravity’
məgərək	‘astonished’	næk	‘husband’
salak	‘clever’		

Word-medially, the opposition of / k / and / g / is neutralized and we get / g / :

[hogil]	‘cuckoo’	[hagotʃ]	‘paper’
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Interestingly and exceptionally / k / occurs in the medial position in a few words, mainly in consonant combinations :

[thikthiki]	‘lizard’	[æktʃollitʃ]	‘forty one’
[ækʰtʰ]	‘one hundred’		

The velar fricative [x] occurs in the word initial and intervocal position, e.g. :

[xəbal]	‘forehead’	[xlantə]	‘tired’
[bexup]	‘stupid’		

It often freely varies with the glottal fricative / h / word initially :

[xal ~ hal]	‘season’	[xil ~ hil]	‘latch’
[xintu ~ hintu]	‘but’	[xali ~ hali]	‘empty’

The *dental voiceless aspirated stop* [th] is an allophone of / t /. It occurs word-initially and intervocally :

[thæl]	‘oil’	[thap]	‘heat’
[ɔbɔthar]	‘incarnation’	[atharə]	‘eighteen’

Rarely the dental voiceless stop [t] occurs in the medial position as in the following word :

[thitiyo]	‘third’
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/ t / neutralizes with / d / in the said position :

[thidyæ]	‘bitter’	[thēduy gatʃ]	‘tamarind tree’
[nidiban]	‘moralist’		

[t] appears word-finally :

ret	‘night’	ubot	‘reversed’
egot	‘sudden’	adalot	‘court’

idzdzot	'prestige'	rit	'season'
gat	'cave'	bat	'news', 'information', 'gout', 'rheumatism'
φirit	'love'	himmot	'courage'
mot	'opinion'	ingit	'signal'

The *bilabial voiceless stop* / p / has an allophone [φ]. [φ] is found in the word-final position only, e.g.,

golap	'rose'	bexup	'stupid'
lap	'snake'	map	'pardon', 'measure'
map gorana	'forgive', 'to measure'	thap	'heat'
dip	'island'	thep	'curved'

/ p / neutralizes with / b / word-medially and we get / b /. For example,

[Suburi] 'betelnut'

It is noteworthy that in many cases [φ], a bilabial fricative, an allophone of / p / occurs intervocally, e.g.,

[aφel]	'apple'	[φaφor]	'papad'
[biφoddʒonok]	'dangerous'		

Moreover, [φ] occurs word-initially, e.g.,

[φirit]	'love'	[φulhobi]	'cauliflower'
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The **voiced stops** : / g /, / d / and / b / are realized as velar, dental and bilabial unaspirated stops respectively.

/ g / is distributed in the three positions of words.

/ g / in the word-initial position :

gal	'cheek'	gorom hal	'summer'
gul	'round'	gaŋ	'river'
sigon gaŋ	'stream'	gatʃ	'tree'
golap	'rose'	goru	'cow'
gabur	'labourer'	gulmoritʃ	'black pepper'
gom	'wheat'	gurguri	'children'
guli	'bullet'	guri	'girl'

gəɲɲi	‘calculation’	gudʒəna	‘insert’
gudʒob	‘rumour’	gudom	‘godown’
gun	‘quality’	gun gun	‘hum’
gulmal	‘noise’	gulgal	‘plump’
gutti	‘a group of families having the same ancestor’		

/ g / in the word-medial position :

ragi	‘angry’	ɸoŋgu	‘crippled’
sugunwə	‘dry’	ugun	‘louse’
sogun	‘vulture’	hagotʃ	‘paper’
iŋgit	‘signal’	dogin	‘south’
sigon	‘little’	ɸagi	‘deceit’, ‘trick’
sigi	‘male rat’	gurguri	‘children’
egnayəkthəntɹə	‘dictatorship’	egnayək	‘dictator’
egot	‘sudden’	egot gori	‘suddenly’
dæɽgun	‘one and a half’	ɭgæ	‘with’
thigyæ	‘lasting’	uguræ uguræ	‘on the top, superficially’
uɽgo	‘flying’	gulgal	‘plump’
agatʃ	‘sky’	agəŋ	‘yes’
aga	‘tip’	ægəɹə	‘eleven’
əgolana	‘vomit’	əsugi	‘unhappy’

/ g / in the word-final position :

rag	‘anger’	ɸug	‘worm’
ittug	‘little by little’	nirɔg	‘free from disease’
əsug	‘disease’		

/ d / is observed in the word-initial position as in the following :

din	‘day’	dut	‘milk’
durbəl	‘weak’	dam	‘cost’
dagana	‘point’	doɽi	‘rope’
duk ɸana	‘suffer’	dəɽxari	‘important’
disapta	‘fortnight’	dabana	‘thigh’

dāt	‘tooth’	dip	‘island’
dogin	‘south’	dorani	‘alarming’
doladoli	‘party turmoil’	dæzi	‘homemade’, ‘countrymade’
dædar	‘profuse’	dæna	‘debt’
dænadar	‘debtor’	dæbaxul	‘race of gods’
dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’	dæmak	‘gravity’
dæmakkyā	‘proud’	dærat]	‘drawer’
durbin	‘telescope’	dur gorana	‘remove’

/ d / is observed in the word-medial position :

mada	‘head’	bandor	‘monkey’
bodolana	‘change’	φudwə	‘hole’
φadana	‘send’	φorendi	‘after’
φit] t]endi	‘behind’	sogo φada	‘eyelid’
φoddo φul	‘lotus’	mada habor	‘veil’
sidu	‘there’	thanda	‘cold’
šiddwə	‘boiled’	idu	‘here’
indro	‘the king of heaven’	indi	‘here’
iridena	‘to give up’	sidya	‘thought’
zindya	‘alive’	nidi	‘moral ethics’
nidiban	‘moralist’	d3idi	‘adamant’
doladoli	‘party turmoil’	bondi	‘captive’
endi undi	‘this and that’	sædeya	‘proud’
gudom	‘godown’	idu	‘here’
hudu	‘where’	alada	‘separate’
ada	‘ginger’	adam	‘village’
anəndo	‘delight’	thidi	‘lunar day’

/ d / is also observed in the word-final position as in the following :

adomud	‘fist’	φid	‘faint’
φad	‘tear’, ‘break’	šod	‘conscious’, ‘alert’
šud	‘interest’	rad	‘scarcity, want, famine’

bid	'opinion', 'notion'	bad	'rejected'
þod	'quick'		

/ b / is used in the word-initial position, e.g.,

bāzi	'flute'	badam	'groundnut'
begun	'brinjal'	bodolana	'change'
bandor	'monkey'	byasto	'busy'
baksu	'box'	barbuwo	'proud'
baŋ	'left'	bəzər	'year'
bodabudi	'wrestling'	bayrendi	'outside'
baro	'twelve'	bəʔana	'walk'
biley	'cat'	bil	'lake'
bileʃ	'luxury'	bini	'sweet'
bini sol	'a kind of rice'	bondi	'captive'
beymani	'treachery'	bekmili	'all together'
bexar	'unemployed'	begar	'unpaid workers'

/ b / is used in the word-medial position e.g.

durbol	'weak'	labana	'jump'
nətuba	'unless'	suburi	'betelnut'
gabur milyæ	'bachelor'	lamba	'long'
xəbal	'forehead'	thaba	'claw'
ubot	'reversed'	bodabudi	'wrestling'
obothar	'incarnation'	oðobitro	'impure'
thəbosi	'hermit', 'devotee'	abad	'cultivated land'
abedon	'petition'	abedon gorana	'apply'
dəboradʒa	'the king of gods'	uburana	'to uproot'
dʒibanu	'germ'	nibban	'complete emancipation' (of the individual soul)
nidiban	'moralist'		
ðibir ðibir gori	'slowly'	xabuli	'Afgani' xobi 'poet'
doladoli	'party spirit, party turmoil'	æbbæræ	'entirely'
dʒədebodæ	'right', 'correct'	murubbi	'leader'
ðegoba	'nest'		

/ b / is also distributed word-finally :

ɸub	‘east’	ind ₃ eb gɔrana	‘justify’
utʃɔb	‘festival’	rub	‘beauty’
d ₃ ɔb	‘barley’	ʃib	‘the Lord Shiva’

/ gh /, / dh / and / bh / are realized as velar, dental and bilabial voiced aspirated stops respectively and they form contrast with / g /, / d / and / b / respectively in the word-initial position only in Kolkata Chakma.

/ gh / in the word-initial position :

gham	‘sweat’	ghɪ	‘ghee’
ghin	‘disgust’	gha	‘wound’
ghum	‘sleep’	ghun	‘weevil’
ghira	‘enclosure’		

/ dh / in the word-initial position :

dhɔn	‘wealth’	dhɔrmɔ	‘religion’
dhɔmɔk	‘scolding’	dhar	‘sharpness’
dhara	‘shower’, ‘spring’	dhatu	‘metal’
dhudi	‘loin cloth’	dhyan	‘meditation’

/ bh / in the word-initial position :

bhat	‘rice’	bhag	‘divide’
bhagidar	‘partner’	bhaza	‘fried’
bhap	‘steam’	bhabna	‘thought’
bhari	‘heavy’	bhugol	‘geography’
bhir	‘crowd’	bhut	‘ghost’

Affricates : Palato-alveolar affricates are found in Kolkata Chakma.

Word-finally, the phonemic oppositions of / tʃ / and d₃ / display neutralization, and we get / tʃ /. The following examples will clarify the point.

[mɔgɔtʃ]	‘brain’	[haɡɔtʃ]	‘paper’
The distribution of / tʃ / is limited to the word-final position :			
lætʃ	‘tail’	ɡatʃ	‘tree’
matʃ	‘fish’	agatʃ	‘sky’

bitʃ	‘poison’	dotʃ	‘ten’
motʃ	‘buffalo’	rɒtʃ	‘juice’
gulmoritʃ	‘black pepper’	agɔdʒɔ batʃ	‘thunder’
natʃ	‘dance’	mɔɡɔtʃ	‘brain’
hagotʃ	‘paper’	æktʃollitʃ	‘forty one’
dæratʃ	‘drawer’	mædʒatʃ	‘temper’
hɒtʃ	‘itching’	ɸɪyætʃ	‘onion’

Rarely / tʃ / occurs word-initially and medially :

[tʃasa]	‘farmer’	[elatʃi]	‘cardamom’
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/ dʒ / is distributed in the word-initial position :

dʒɔnɔm	‘birth’	dʒadi	‘soon’
dʒindʒinnyæ batʃ	‘pungent’	dʒimbya	‘custody’
dʒilik	‘brightness’	dʒilebi	‘a kind of sweet-meat’
dʒibanu	‘germ’	dʒidi	‘adamant’
dʒæmithi	‘geometry’	dʒær	‘back’
dʒærendi	‘at last’	dʒɔkkɔnæ	‘when’, ‘while’
dʒɔdebɔdæ	‘right’, ‘current’	dʒænæ ʃænæ	‘anyhow’, ‘somehow’
dʒudʒu	‘welcome’	dʒun	‘moon’
dʒummo	‘hilly peasant’		

/ dʒ / is also observed in the word-medial position :

rayndʒoni	‘rainbow’	agɔdʒɔ batʃ	‘thunder’
thamdʒaŋ	‘waterfall’	dʒindʒinnyæ batʃ	‘pungent’
idʒdʒɔt	‘prestige’	indʒeb ɡɔrana	‘justify’, ‘consider’
mædʒatʃ	‘temper’	ɡudʒɔb	‘rumour’
ɡudʒɔna	‘insert’	dʒudʒu	‘welcome’
budʒdʒya	‘old man’	bidʒu	‘the Chakma national festival’
ɔdʒɔn	‘weight’	ɔdʒɔn ɡɔrana	‘measure’

Fricatives : Glottal fricative / h / and alveolar fricatives / s, z / exist in Kolkata Chakma.

We treat / s, z and h / phonetically as voiceless alveolar fricative, voiced alveolar fricative and voiceless glottal fricative respectively.

The occurrence of the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] is very rare. It is also observed in a few words as a free variant of /s/, e.g.,

[sɔmpotti] ~ [ʃɔmpotti] 'assets' [sap] ~ [ʃap] 'snake'

/s/ is found in the initial position of a word :

sɔpta	'week'	srot	'current'
somudrɔ	'sea'	sundri	'bellows'
sarosi	'tongs'	sil	'rock'
sudwɔ	'cotton'	siŋor	'root'
sit	'heart'	sigon	'little'
sit dʒurana	'to please the mind'	sidya	'thought'
sin sin	'twinging sensation'	sigi	'male rat'
sædeya	'proud'	særet gori	'quickly'
sikyæ	'spiteful'	sok	'eye'
sor	'father-in-law'	sori	'mother-in-law'
sap	'snake'		

/s/ is found in the word-medial position, e.g.,

ɔsustɔ	'ill'	nɔstɔ	'waste'
naspati	'pear'	baksu	'box'
ɔsug	'disease'	ɔsugi	'unhappy'
ɔstra	'weapon'	ɔsol	'paralysis'
ɸorsu	'day after tomorrow'	ɔsustɔ	'ill'

/s/ is also found in the word-final position, e.g.,

hɔtas 'upset'

/z/ and /h/ appear exclusively in the initial and medial positions.

/z/ in the initial position :

zanla	'window'	zɔda	'shoe'
zal	'net'	zagana	'awake'
hayllyæ zire	'black gram'	zadi zadi	'hurry'
zindya	'alive'	zila	'district'

/z/ in the medial position :

mazi 'fly'

bizi	'seed'	φozim	'west'
azu	'father's father'	mizyæ	'false'
buzol	'earthquake'	ræzom	'silk'
bəzəŋ	'bad'	thamzaŋ	'waterfall'
iziryæ	'hint'	iziryæ gɔrana	'to hint'
dæzi	'homemade', 'countrymade'	ūzunizu	'high and low'
φizu	'paternal great grandfather'	izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'
oza	'pestle of a husking pedal'	oʒol	'high'

/ h / in the word-initial position :

hiŋsuk	'jealous'	hay	'near'
han	'ear'	hunoy	'elbow'
hætʃ	'hair of body'	hɔlot	'lap'
huŋi	'twenty'	hɔmɔr	'waist'
hal	'time'	hat	'hand'
haza	'green'	hugur	'dog'
har	'whose'	haræ	'whom'
humor	'potter'	hamar	'blacksmith'
haŋara	'crab'	hizu	'few'
hoytʃɔiye manutʃ	'beloved'	hiye samara	'skin'
hɔk	'curved'	hɔtʃ	'itching'
hɔn	'stammering'	hɔn hɔn	'hesitation in speech'
hɔnuman	'a kind of monkey'	hɔbɔrdar	'precaution'
hɔbɔr dæna	'inform'	hɔbɔr	'news'
hɔni	'loss'	hali	'vacant'
hali gɔrana	'to vacate'	hindi	'Hindi language'
hindu	'Hindu'	himmət	'courage'
hun	'murder'		

/ h / in the word-medial position :

sahozi	'brave'	dahɔ	'funeral'
φulhobi	'cauliflower'	gaŋhul	'bank of a river'

mahən	'butter'	narihul	'coconut'
səhətʃ	'easy'		

Though / d₃ / and / z / are two separate phonemes, incidentally it is worth stating that in many words they are found to be free variants e.g.

[dərɔd ₃ a ~ dərza]	'door'	[d ₃ anla ~ zanla]	'window'
[d ₃ uni ɸuk ~ zuni ɸuk]	'glowworm'	[d ₃ il ~ zil]	'tongue'

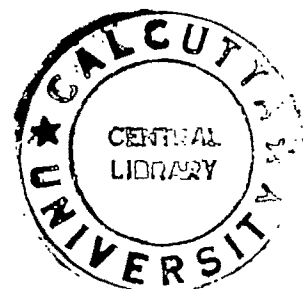
Nasals : In Kolkata Chakma, all the three nasal phonemes— / m / 'bilabial', / n / 'alveolar', and / ŋ / 'velar' — are voiced. Among these three, the first two appear in all positions.

/ m / in the word-initial position :

manutʃ	'man'	milyæ	'girl'
məgətʃ	'brain'	rana məɔt	'young man'
mada	'head'	matʃ	'month'
mæg	'cloud'	mittor	'friend'
muni	'saint'	mukti	'freedom'
mukti ɸana	'to be set free'	mukti ɸətrə	'deed of release'
muri	'hill'	murubbi	'leader'
mul	'root'	muli	'yeast for making wine'
məŋ	'bell of Buddhist temple'	məgərək	'astonished'
mən	'mind'	mep	'map'
mon	'mountain'	monor	'of mountain'
mok	'wife'	meyabi	'illusive'
meyabiddya	'magical art'	metʃ metʃ gərana	'feel sick in body'
muromuri	'hills and rivers'	muy	'I'
malum	'perception', 'knowledge'	mala	'garland'
mal	'goods'	mət	'opinion'
məydeya	'flower'	mulo	'raddish'
mənət gərana	'to recollect'		

/ m / in the word-medial position :

həmər	'waist'	humər	'potter'
hamar	'blacksmith'	himmət	'courage'



thama	‘copper’	ϕittimi	‘earth’
lamba	‘height’	iman	‘conscience’
imandar	‘honest’	d3imbya	‘custody’
nilemi	‘relating to auction’	nilmoni	‘sapphire’
dæmak	‘gravity’	dæmakkyā	‘proud’
umor	‘age’	d3ummo	‘hilly peasant’
ɔnuman	‘guess’	ɔnuman gɔrana	‘to guess’
ɔɔmɔy	‘improper time’	ɔɔmɔy	‘time’
amɾa	‘hog-plum’	ɟumi	‘bean’
humir	‘crocodile’	thumi	‘you-pl’

/ m / in the word-final position :

ϕozim	‘west’	gɔrɔm hal	‘summer’
gɔm	‘good’	dam	‘price’
nilem	‘auction’	um	‘heat’
adam	‘village’	am	‘mango’
nim	‘neem’	guyam	‘guava’

/ n / in the word-initial position :

nɔk	‘nail’	nanu	‘father’s mother’
næk	‘husband’	na	‘not’
nun	‘salt’	nilem	‘auction’
nidi	‘moral ethics’	nilmoni	‘sapphire’
naɾi	‘pulse’		

/ n / in the word-medial position :

nanu	‘father’s mother’	ϕani	‘water’
ɟigana	‘learn’	andar	‘dark’
manutɟ	‘man’	sɔna	‘gold’
thanda	‘cool’	gɔtna	‘neck’
indrɔ	‘the king of heaven’	ikkine	‘now’
imandar	‘honest’	indi	‘here’
zindya	‘alive’	ϕirana	‘comeback’

bini sol	'a kind of rice'	bini	'sweet'
dæna	'debt'	bondi	'captive'
		ɔnɔtɔtɔyæ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'
dænadar	'debtor'	bæɾana	'walk'
dʒækkɔnæ	'while'	unnɔti	'rise'
muni	'saint'	iridena	'to give up'

/ n / in the word-final position :

han	'ear'	nun	'salt'
ʒogun	'vulture'	den	'right'
ban	'flood'	san	'moon'
oyɲno din	'the other day'	ittun	'from here'
iyan	'this'	iman	'conscience'
dogin	'south'	sin	'identity', 'mark'
sin sin	'twinging sensation'	gun	'quality'

The occurrence of the velar nasal / ŋ / is restricted to word-medially and word-finally.

/ ŋ / in the word-medial position :

daŋɔr	'big', 'large', 'wide'	hiŋsuk	'jealous'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋara	'charcoal'
ɸɔŋgu	'crippled'	ɔɓɔŋxar	'ornament'
eŋela hugur	'male dog'	iŋgit	'signal'
eŋtheŋ beŋtheŋ	'negligence of duty'	eŋeli hugur	'female dog'
laŋyæ	'boy friend', 'paramour'		

/ ŋ / in the word-final position :

gaŋ	'river'	baŋ	'left'
bæŋ	'frog'	thæŋ	'leg'
siŋ	'horn'	læŋ	'lame'
ɸiriŋ	'grasshopper'	eŋtheŋ beŋtheŋ	'negligence of duty'

/ ŋ / does not occur word-initially.

Lateral : The phoneme /l/ is realised as the voiced alveolar lateral and it occurs in the initial, medial and final positions of words.

/l/ in the word-initial position :

lætʃ	‘tail of an animal’	lɒna	‘take’
lanjyæ	‘boy friend’, paramour’	lɒg	‘companion’
lɒge	‘with’	lɒna	‘take’
lɒda ɸada	‘plants and leaves’	lɔɾaloɾi	‘fighting with each other’
lanj	‘lover’	lalɔtʃ	‘lust’
liklikkyæ	‘slender’	ley	‘bamboo basket for keeping rice etc.’
leda	‘weak’	lo	‘blood’
letto	‘saliva’	ledʒa	‘slopping end of hills’
lut	‘to rob’	ludu	‘gentle in manner’

/l/ in the word-medial position :

gɒla	‘throat’	milyæ	‘girl’
thɒlæ	‘low’	salak	‘clever’
bɒllɒm	‘spear’	biley	‘cat’
ulɔt ɸalɔt	‘disorder’	dɒladoli	‘party spirit’, ‘party turmoil’
ɔgɒlana	‘vomit’	alada	‘separate’
zila	‘district’	ilibili	‘zigzag’
ilis	‘a kind of fish’	ithɒla	‘brick field’
dʒilik	‘brightness’	dʒilebi	‘a kind of sweetmeat’
nilem	‘auction’	nilmoni	‘sapphire’
thali	‘clapping of hands’	thɒɸɔsili	‘scheduled’
thalimali	‘fun and merriment’	sili	‘bark’
guli	‘bullet’	elaxa	‘area’
xale xale	‘in course of time’	thelon	‘boiler’
alu	‘potato’	lɔɾaloɾi	‘fighting with the other’

/l/ in the word-final position :

gal	‘chin’	aɱʒul	‘finger’
hal	‘time’, ‘season’	aɸæl	‘apple’

sul	'hair'	ul	'wool'
æktal	'many'	bil	'lake'
debaxul	'race of gods'		

Rolled : As far as the distribution of the alveolar rolled / r / is concerned we can arrive at the following point that it can occur in any positions of words.

/ r / in the word-initial position :

ret	'night'	rit	'season'
raynd ₃ oni	'rainbow'	ragi	'anger'
rotʃ	'juice'		

/ r / in the word-medial position :

gorip	'poor'	ordæk	'half'
deri	'late'	ʒori	'mother-in-law'
baral	'liver'	marana	'beat'
ori	'enemy'	ostro	'weapon'
dorani	'alarming'	indro	'the king of heaven'
ægaro	'eleven'	baro	'twelve'
thæro	'thirteen'	ɸonro	'fifteen'
sotro	'seventeen'	æra	'flesh'
		uburana	'to uproot'
iridena	'to give up'	uguryæ	'upstairs'
utʃtʃorana	'dedicate'	uro	'shed', 'den'
durbin	'telescope'	muri	'hill'
istiri	'iron'	indroɸuri	'the place of king Indra'
irukgoron	'modernization'	iziryæ	'hint'
iziryæ gorana	'to hint'	ɸiriŋ	'grasshopper'
		nirog	'healthy', 'free from disease'
gurguri	'children'	guri	'girl'
eghuɽi	'twenty'	egotgori	'suddenly'
æbbæræ	'entirely'	særet gori	'quickly'
d ₃ ærendi	'at last'	dæborad ₃ a	'the king of gods'
dæratʃ	'drawer'	murubbi	'leader'
haru	'bangle'		

/ r / in the word-final position :

hugur	'dog'	ser	'four'
gabur	'labourer'	andar	'dark'
gabur milyæ	'young lady'	ækbar	'once'
daŋɔr	'big', 'large'	oyar	'pillow case'
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'	uttor	'answer'
uttor xal	'future time'	uttor gorana	'to answer'
umor	'age'		
ɔʃur	'demon'	agɔr	'former'
axar	'form'	ɔləŋxar	'ornament'
utʃtʃur	'dedication'	imandar	'honest'
ɸibir ɸibir gori	'slowly'	eɸar	'this side'
eɸar oɸar	'this side and other'	dædar	'profuse'
dur gorana	'remove'		

Flapped : Retroflex flapped / r / is distributed only word-medially and finally.

/ ɽ / word-medially :

aɽay	'two and a half'	buɽo manutʃ	'old man'
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/ ɽ / word-finally :

dæɽ	'one and a half'
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It cannot occur word initially.

Semi-vowels : The semi-vowels / w / and / y / do not occur word-initially. The palatal semi-vowel / y / occurs word-medially and finally. / w / is found in the word-medial position, e.g.,

ɸuwɔ	'boy'	sulwɔ	'sixteen'
hurwɔ	'cock'	barbuwɔ	'proud'
dʒurwɔ	'cold'	sudwɔ	'cotton'
huwɔ	'well'	luwɔ	'iron'
ʃudʒdʒwɔ	'sun'	nukwɔ	'boat'

/ y / in the word-medial position :

bəyɔtʃ	‘age’	oyar	‘pillow case’
ayn	‘law’	uguryæ	‘upstairs’
bud ₃ d ₃ ya	‘old man’	iyan	‘it’, ‘this’
iziryæ	‘hint’	iziryæ gɔrana	‘to hint’
itya	‘beloved’	sidya	‘thought’
umutʃtʃya hal	‘hot weather’, ‘summer season’		

/ y / in the word-final position :

sɔy	‘six’	æxanobboy	‘ninety one’
ɔɔmɔy	‘improper time’	ɔɔmɔy	‘time’
aday	‘collection’	biley	‘cat’

2.2.4 CONSONANTAL SEQUENCES

2.2.4.1 Consonants in Gemination

If we have a look at the geminate consonants of Kolkata Chakma, an interesting phonological feature arrests our attention. Though in Kolkata Chakma, there are twentytwo consonant phonemes, only twelve consonants appear in gemination. In addition to it, we may note here that the first consonant of the geminates belong to the previous syllable as a coda and the second one to the next syllable as an onset. All the geminate consonants are found word-medially.

All the geminate consonants of Kolkata Chakma are presented in the following :

/ kk, gg, tʃtʃ, d₃d₃, tt, dd, nn, mm, ll, pp, bb, ʃʃ ([tʃ] and [dʃ]) /

Geminate consonants	Words with geminate consonants	
/ kk /	ikkine	‘now’
	rukkwɔ	‘rude’
	bhikke magana	‘to beg’
	d ₃ ɔkkɔnæ	‘when’, ‘while’
	dæmakkeya	‘proud’
/ gg /	bhaggo	‘luck’
/ tʃtʃ /	dibutʃtʃyæ	‘midday’

	utʃʃur	‘dedication’
	utʃʃurana	‘dedicate’
	umutʃʃya hal	‘summer’, ‘hot weather’
	hutʃʃyæl	‘sugarcane’
/ d ₃ d ₃ /	id ₃ d ₃ ot	‘prestige’
	bud ₃ d ₃ ya	‘old man’
	ud ₃ d ₃ ol	‘bright’
	bud ₃ d ₃ ya aŋul	‘thumb’
/ tt /	uttor	‘north’, ‘answer’
	ittun	‘from here’
	mittor	‘friend’
	dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’
	hitte	‘why’
/ dd /	ɸɔddo ɸul	‘lotus’
/ nn /	bæɾannya	‘nomad’
	oynno din	‘the other day’
	beynnyæ	‘morning’
/ mm /	d ₃ ummo	‘hilly peasant’
	himmot	‘courage’
	hammwo	‘active’
/ ll /	bollɔm	‘spear’
	gælle hille ret	‘last night’
	dhuylyæ	‘sand’
/ pp /	thappor	‘claw’
/ bb /	nibban	‘complete emancipation of individual soul’
	murubbi	‘leader’
	xabbo	‘poem’
	æxanobboy	‘ninety one’
	æbbæræ	‘entirely’
/ ss /	driʃʃo	‘scene’

[tʃ]	laʃʃu	'a kind of plaything'
	ækʃʃi	'sixty one'
	bhuʃʃa	'maize'
[dʒ]	ladʒu	'a kind of sweets'

(The words with [tʃ] and [dʒ] are possibly borrowed words.)

2.2.4.2 Consonant Clusters

Chakma of Kolkata possesses consonant clusters. As regards their phonological distribution it is to be noted that their occurrence is restricted to the word-initial and word-medial positions only. No word-final consonant clusters are observed. A Chakma consonant cluster comprises only two consonants i.e. Chakma of Kolkata exhibits biconsonantal clusters only be they in word-initial or word-final positions. In Kolkata Chakma, word-medial consonant clusters seem to be more frequent.

Different types of consonant clusters are exemplified below :

Word-initial consonant clusters

Fricative + Rolled

srot	'current'	ʃrodʒaʃoti	'butterfly'
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Stop + Rolled

drætʃ	'dress'	drisso	'scene'
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Word-medial consonant clusters

Affricate + Semi-vowel

ʌmabotʃtʃyæ	'moonless night'	budʒdʒyæ aŋul	'thumb'
redʒdʒyæ	'kingdom'	umutʃtʃyæ hal	'summer'
sudʒdʒwə	'sun'		

Stop + Semi-vowel

sidyæ	'wrinkle'	sudwə	'cotton'
ruɸwə	'silver'	itya	'beloved'
dʒimbya	'custody'	zindya	'alive'
dæmakkyä	'proud'	sikyæ	'spiteful', 'malicious'
thigyæ	'lasting'	ʃiddwə	'boiled'
nukwə	'boat'		

Rolled + Semi-vowel

d ₃ urwə	‘cold’	murwə	‘hill’
iziryæ	‘hint’	iziryæ gɔrana	‘to hint’
saryæ	‘separation’	uguryæ	‘upstairs’

Lateral + Semi-vowel

beyllyæ	‘afternoon’	mulwə	‘raddish’
sulwə	‘sixteen’		

Fricative + Semi-vowel

barizyæ	‘flood’	bizyæ	‘scorpion’
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Nasal + Semi-vowel

beynnyæ	‘evening’	bætannya	‘nomad’
lanjyæ	‘boyfriend’, ‘paramour’		
sugunwə	‘dry’	raynnyæ	‘cooked’

Stop + Rolled

xat mistri	‘carpenter’
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2.2.5 SYLLABIC STRUCTURES

In this section eight structures of syllables in Kolkata Chakma have been identified. The minimum number of sound segments making up a syllable is one and that is the syllabic nucleus or the syllabic peak where the sonority is greatest. The maximum number of constituents forming a syllable is four in Kolkata Chakma. Syllable margins are formed in the following way : (1) by two consonants, (2) by one consonant either at the beginning or at the end of a syllable, and (3) by no consonant at all in case where a vowel occurs alone to form the syllable. On the basis of the available corpus the syllabic structures of Kolkata Chakma are as follows :

v, cv, vc, cvc, ccv, vcc, ccvc and cvcc.

Below a list is presented to show various syllabic structures of Kolkata Chakma (The first syllable contains the particular structure) :

Canonical Shapes	Examples with Glosses	
v	aga	‘tip’
	izor	‘platform of a typical Chakma house’

ilis	'a kind of fish'
iyān	'it', 'this'
iman	'conscience'
iziryæ	'hint'
egot	'sudden'
æra	'flesh'
umi	'illiterate'
ugun	'louse'
uguryæ	'upstairs'
ubot	'reversed'
umor	'age'
uro	'shed', 'den'
od ₃ on	'weight'
ɔzɔl	'high'
ɔsug	'disease'
ɔʃur	'demon'
ɔʃɔt	'wicked'
ɔza	'pestle of a husking pedal'
ɔsɔl	'immovable', 'paralysis'
ɔgɔlana	'vomit'
ɔxal	'bad season'
ɔɸɔbitrɔ	'impure'
ɔnuman	'guess'
ɔlɔŋxar	'ornament'
ɔʃɔti	'unchaste'
agatʃ	'sky'
alada	'separate'
axar	'form'
aŋɟul	'finger'
agɔŋɟ	'yes'
azu	'grandfather'
ada	'ginger'
adam	'village'

adalbt	‘court’
aday	‘collection’
anondo	‘delight’
adi	‘prior’, ‘first’
abad	‘cultivated land’
abedon	‘petition’
alu	‘potato’
amol	‘period’
uburana	‘to uproot’
elaxa	‘area’
æxaʃi	‘eightyone’
ægaro	‘eleven’
manutʃ	‘man’
thæŋa	‘rupee’
dogin	‘south’
sigon	‘little’
nilem	‘auction’
nidiban	‘moralist’
ʃiriŋ	‘grasshopper’
mittor	‘friend’
dʒilik	‘brightness’
dʒidi	‘adamant’
sili	‘bark’
bini	‘sweet’
thuguri	‘chin’
sigi	‘male rat’
guli	‘bullet’
xoti	‘loss’
xobi	‘poet’
nirog	‘free from disease’
dæmak	‘gravity’
dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’

dəratʃ	‘drawer’
bæɾana	‘walk’
lɔgæ	‘with’
dʒærendi	‘at last’
ɡudʒɔna	‘insert’
ɡudʒob	‘rumour’
muni	‘saint’
murubbi	‘leader’
bidʒu	‘the Chakma national festival’
ɸizu	‘paternal great grandfather’
nanu	‘grandmother’
hudu	‘where’
sulwɔ	‘sixteen’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’
thɔbɔsi	‘hermit’
ɡɔnɔni	‘calculation’
dæna	‘debt’
badam	‘groundnut’
labana	‘jump’
xɔbal	‘forehead’
begar	‘unpaid workers’
dʒibanu	‘germ’
ɸibir ɸibir gori	‘slowly’
mada	‘head’
ɸudwɔ	‘point’
ɸadana	‘send’
ʃidu	‘there’
lo	‘blood’
salak	‘clever’
ɡudom	‘godown’

vc

sogun	'vulture'
sarosi	'tongs'
buzol	'earthquake'
ræzom	'silk'
bizi	'seed'
bəzəŋ	'bad'
zoda	'shoe'
milyæ	'girl'
mulī	'yeast for making wine'
humoŋ	'potter'
na	'not'
naŋi	'pulse'
ɸani	'water'
sumi	'bean'
lona	'take'
haru	'bangle'
luwə	'iron'
deyal	'wall'
suyər	'pig'
iŋgit	'signal'
istiri	'iron'
indi	'here'
el	'green'
æk	'one'
um	'heat'
uskani	'provoke'
utsəb	'festival'
urgo	'flying'
ostad	'master'
ostrə	'weapon'
am	'mango'
el	'green'

cvc

indrø	'the king of heaven'
æktal	'many'
sit	'heart'
sin	'identity', 'mark'
zindya	'alive'
bil	'lake'
d ₃ ær	'back'
dæɾgun	'one and a half'
bæn	'loom'
mæg	'cloud'
gun	'quality'
gulmal	'noise'
gulgal	'plump'
d ₃ un	'moon'
mul	'root'
rub	'beauty'
sok	'eye'
ʃap	'snake'
map	'pardon', 'measure'
thap	'heat'
dip	'island'
thep	'curved'
d ₃ ɔb	'barley'
ʃib	'the lord Shiva'
lamba	'long'
rit	'season'
gat	'cave'
mɔt	'opinion'
ʃud	'interest'
bad	'rejected'
rag	'anger'
ɸug	'worm'
buk	'chest'

	gal	'cheek'
	gul	'round'
	gaŋ	'river'
	gɔm	'wheat'
	nim	'neem'
	matʃ	'month'
	muy	'I'
	mal	'goods'
	mɔn	'mind'
	nun	'salt'
	ban	'flood'
	san	'moon'
ccv	sulwɔ	'oven'
	hulwɔ	'open'
	indrɔ	'the king of heaven'
	thigyæ	'lasting'
	saryæ	'separation'
	iziryæ	'hint'
	ɔɔbitrɔ	'impure'
	sugunwɔ	'dry'
	hurwɔ	'cock'
	ʒudwɔ	'cotton'
	nukwɔ	'boat'
	zindya	'alive'
	bizyæ	'scorpion'

(The last syllables of the above words possess the ccv structure.)

vcc	oynnɔ	'other'
ccvc	ɸrɔttekdin	'everyday'
	byastɔ	'busy'
cvcc	boynnɔ	'wild'

2.3.0 PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF RANGAMATI CHAKMA

In this section, Rangamati Chakma is looked into from the phonological point of view. Chatterji (1951 : 174) and Maniruzzaman (1994 : 158) opine that Rangamati Chakma is akin to Chittagong Bengali in its linguistic structure. It also appears from the present observation that both Chittagong Bengali (CB) and Rangamati Chakma (RC) bear resemblances as they co-exist. So, attempts have been made to find out the common phonological features of both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali also.

2.3.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES AND PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonological structure of Chakma spoken in Rangamati in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh comprises the following two types of segmental phonemes i) vowels and ii) consonants.

Below the seven vowel phonemes of Rangamati Chakma¹ are presented :

Vowels of Rangamati Chakma			
	Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded
High / Close	i		u
High-Mid / Half-Close	e		o
Low-Mid / Half-Open	æ		ɔ
Low / Open		a	

In the following table, the vowels of Chittagong Bengali² which are also equivalent to those of Rangamati Chakma are presented.

Vowels of Chittagong Bengali			
	Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded
High / Close	i		u
High-Mid / Half-Close	e		o
Low-Mid / Half-Open	æ		ɔ
Low / Open		a	

Consonant phonemes of Rangamati Chakma³ are twenty-three in number as shown below :

Stop	: / p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ /	Lateral	: / l /
Affricate	: / tʃ, dʒ /	Rolled	: / r /
Fricative	: / ʃ, z, h /	Flapped	: / ɾ /
Nasal	: / m, n, ŋ /	Semi-vowel	: / w, y /
		Implosive	: / b', d', g' /

All these consonants have been placed below according to their places and manners of articulation.

Consonants of Rangamati Chakma

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stop	p (ϕ)	b	t (th)	d									k (x)	g	ʔ	
Affricate									tʃ	dʒ						
Fricative					(s)	z			ʃ						h	
Nasal		m				n								ŋ		
Lateral						l										
Rolled						r										
Flapped								ɾ								
Semi-vowel		w										y				
Implosive		b'		d'										g'		
Non-Pulmonic																

The functional loads of [ϕ], [th] and [x] are remarkable. So these are presented in the table. Again, the functional load of [s] is found to be less in comparison with [ʃ].

With reference to three terms— (a) the state of the glottis, (b) the place of articulation, (c) the manner of articulation — the consonants found in Chittagong Bengali are listed below :

4
Consonants of Chittagong Bengali

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stop	p	b	t	d			t̪	ɖ					k	g	ʔ	
Affricate									tʃ	dʒ						
Fricative	ɸ	β			s	z			ʃ				ʁ		h	
Nasal		m				n								ŋ		
Lateral						l										
Rolled						r										
Semi-vowel		w										y				
Implosive		b'		d'										g'		

2.3.2 VOWELS

2.3.2.1 Distribution of Vowels

All vowels of Rangamati Chakma can be distributed in any position of a word as individual entities. These are shown below :

RC / i / in the word-initial position, such as :

idu	'here'	indro	'the king of heaven'
ikkine	'now'	in̄git	'signal'
in̄red ₃	'the English'	id ₃ d ₃ ot	'prestige'
ittun	'from here'	iran	'Iran'
ilibili	'zigzag'	iliŋ	'a kind of fish'
ittug	'little by little'	iyān	'it, this'
istiri	'iron'	indroϕuri	'the place of king Indra'
irukgōrōn	'modernization'	ind ₃ eb gōrana	'justify', 'consider'
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'	iman	'conscience'
imandar	'honest'	indi	'here'
iziryæ	'hint'	iziryæ g ² ana	'to hint'
it	'brick'	ithōla	'brick field'
iridena	'to give up'	itya	'beloved'

RC / i / in the word-medial position, such as :

dogin	'south'	ŋigon	'little'
sit	'heart'	sit d ₃ urana	'to please the mind'
sidya	'thought'	sin	'identity', 'mark'
sin sin	'twinging sensation'	d ₃ imbya	'custody'
zindya	'alive'	zila	'district'
d ₃ ilik	'brightness'	d ₃ ilebi	'a kind of sweet-meat'
d ₃ ibanu	'germ'	nilem	'auction'
nirog	'healthy'	nibban	'complete emancipation'
	'free from disease'		(of the individual soul)
nilemi	'relating to auction'	nidi	'moral ethics'

nidiban	'moralist'	nilmoni	'sapphire'
φizit	'hurry'	φid	'faint'
φibir φibir gori	'slowly'	φirana	'come back'
φiriŋ	'grasshopper'	mittor	'friend'
bil	'lake'	biley	'cat'
bilef	'luxury'		

RC / i / in the word-final position, such as :

thuguri	'chin'	φagi	'deceit', 'trick'
bini	'sweet', 'delicious'	bini sol	'a kind of rice'
naŋi	'pulse'	thali	'clapping of hands'
thalimali	'fun and merriment'	thoφosili	'scheduled'
thobosi	'hermit', 'devotee'	d3idi	'adamant'
sili	'bark'	ŋigi	'male rat'
guli	'bullet'	gurguri	'children'
guri	'girl', 'little one'	gononi	'calculation'
xoti	'loss'	xabuli	'Afgani'
xobi	'poet'	dorani	'alarming, 'terrifying'
bondi	'captive'	bodabudi	'wrestling'
doladoli	'party spirit', 'party turmoil'		

RC / e / in the word-initial position, such as :

eyan	'this one'	eghuŋi	'twenty'
egnayok	'dictator'	egnayokthontro	'dictatorship'
el	'green'	eŋiya	'Asia'
elaxa	'area'	eraeri	'separation'
eφril	'April'	endi undi	'this and that'
eφar	'this side'	eφar oφar	'this side and other'
eŋthenŋ beŋthenŋ	'negligence of duty'	egot	'sudden'
egotgori	'suddenly'	elaφela	'careless', 'negligence'
eŋela hugur	'male dog'	eŋeli hugur	'female dog'
ethare	'to him or her'		

RC / e / in the word-medial position, such as :

thena	'rag'	thep thep	'word denoting dropping'
thebil	'table'	thelon	'boiler'
thep	'curved'	neḡali	'inhabitant of Nepal'
neta	'leader'	neti	'female leader'
netami	'leadership'	ḡensil	'pencil'
beyman	'treacherous'	beymani	'treachery'
bexar	'unemployed'	begar	'unpaid worker'

RC / e / in the word-final position, such as :

xale	'in proper time', 'in time'	xale xale	'in course of time'
xune xune	'corner to corner'	xure xure	'lying near'
ḡe	'of motion'	gelde	'last', 'past'
ḡe ḡe	'without changing the motion'		

RC / æ / in the word-initial position, such as :

æra	'flesh'	æk	'one'
æḡarḡ	'eleven'	æktʃollitʃ	'forty one'
æxannḡ	'fifty one'	æktʃoffi	'sixty one'
æxattor	'seventy one'	æxafi	'eighty one'
æxanobboy	'ninety one'	æktʃ	'one hundred'
æbbæræ	'entirely'	æktal	'many'
ænḡttæ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'		

RC / æ / in the word-medial position, such as :

sædeya	'proud'	særet gori	'quickly'
dʒæmithi	'geometry'	dʒær	'back'
dʒærendi	'at last'	dæzi	'homemade', 'countrymade'
dædar	'profuse'	dæna	'debt'
dænadar	'debtor'	dæbaxul	'race of gods'
dæbatta	'sacred', 'holy'	dæboradʒa	'the king of gods'
dæmak	'gravity'	dæmakya	'proud'
dæratʃ	'drawer'	dæḡun	'one and a half'

bæn	'loom'	bænət bunnya	'wooven', 'handloom'
bærana	'walk'	bærannya	'nomad'
mæd ₃ atʃ	'temper'	mæg	'cloud'
mæydi	'temporary', 'conditional'		

RC / æ / in the word-final position, such as :

logæ	'with'	d ₃ ɔkkənæ	'when', 'while'
d ₃ ɔdebodæ	'right', 'correct'	d ₃ ænæ	'where to', 'so that'
d ₃ ænæ ʃænæ	'any how', 'somehow'	red ₃ d ₃ yæ	'kingdom', 'territory'
laŋyæ	'boy friend', 'paramour'	sikyæ	'spiteful', 'malicious'
thigyæ	'lasting'	sabeyæ	'printed'
ʃaryæ	'separation'	iziryæ	'hint'
iziryæ gɔrana	'to hint'	æbbæræ	'entirely'
		thɔæ ^l	'low'
ænɔtɪ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'		

RC / u / in the word-initial position, such as :

ugun	'louse'	uguryæ	'upstairs'
utʃtʃur	'dedication'	utʃtʃorana	'dedicate'
uttor	'answer, north'	uttor hal	'future time'
uttor gɔrana	'to answer'	um	'heat'
umi	'illiterate'	ubot	'reversed'
umor	'age', 'life'	ulot palot	'disorder'
uskani	'provoke'	uɾiya	'inhabitant or language of Orissa'
utʃɔb	'festival'	uburana	'to uproot'
udol gatʃ	'a kind of tree'	unnɔti	'rise', 'progress'
unnɔtɔ	'developed', 'advanced'	uzunizu	'high and low'
uguræ uguræ	'on the top'	umutʃtʃya hal	'summer season', 'hot weather'
	'superficially'		
urgo	'flying'	ul	'wool'
ulor	'woolen'	uro	'shed', 'den'

RC / u / in the word-medial position, such as :

gud ₃ ona	'insert'	gud ₃ ob	'rumour'
gutti	'a group of families having the same ancestor'	gudom	'godown'
gun	'quality'	gun gun	'humming'
gulmal	'noise'	gulgal	'plump'
d ₃ ud ₃ u	'welcome'	d ₃ un	'moon'
d ₃ ummo	'hilly peasant'	durbin	'telescope'
dur g ₃ orana	'remove'	φul	'male child'
bud ₃ d ₃ ya	'old man'	muni	'saint'
mukti	'freedom'	mukti φana	'to be set free'
muktiφ ₃ tr ₃	'deed of release'	muri	'hill'
murubbi	'leader'	mul	'roof'
mul	'yeast for making wine'	rub	'beauty'
rud ₃ i	'appetite'		

RC / u / in the word-final position, such as :

alu	'potato'	azu	'grandfather'
idu	'here'	nanu	'grandmother'
bid ₃ u	'the Chakma national festival'	φizu	'paternal great grandfather'
haru	'bangle'	hudu	'where'

RC / o / in the word-initial position, such as :

ostad	'master'	od ₃ on	'weight'
od ₃ on g ₃ orana	'weight', 'measure'	ori	'enemy'
oyar	'pillowcase'		

RC / o / in the word-medial position, such as :

sok	'eye'		
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'		

mittor	‘friend’	xoti	‘loss’
xobi	‘poet’	dɔladoli	‘party spirit’, ‘party turmoil’
bondi	‘captive’	æxanobboy	‘ninety one’
uttor	‘answer’	uttor hal	‘future time’
uttor gorana	‘to answer’	ubot	‘reserved’
umor	‘age’	ulot ɸalot	‘disorder’
ulor	‘woolen’	id ₃ d ₃ ot	‘prestige’

RC / o / in the word-final position, such as :

urgo	‘flying’	uro	‘shed, den’
d ₃ ummo	‘hilly peasant’		

RC / ɔ / in the word-initial position, such as :

ɔzɔl	‘high’	ɔʃug	‘disease’
ɔʃugi	‘unhappy’	ɔstro	‘weapon’
ɔʃur	‘demon’	ɔʃanti	‘disorder’
ɔʃot	‘wicked’	ɔdin	‘inauspicious day’
ɔza	‘pestle of a husking pedal’	ɔsɔl	‘immovable’, ‘paralysis’
ɔgolana	‘vomit’	ɔxal	‘bad season’
ɔbothar	‘incarnation’	ɔɸobitrɔ	‘impure’
ɔnuman	‘guess’	ɔnuman gorana	‘to guess’
ɔbɔɲxar	‘ornament’	ɔʃɔmɔy	‘improper time’
ɔʃoti	‘unchaste’	ɔniti	‘immorality’
ɔli	‘rhyme’		

RC / ɔ / in the word-medial position, such as :

lɔgæ	‘with’	irukgɔrɔn	‘modernization’
thɔbɔʃi	‘hermit’, ‘devotee’	gɔnɔni	‘calculation’
dɔrani	‘alarming’	dɔladoli	‘party spirit, party turmoil’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	gɔɲe gɔɲe	‘without changing the motion’
ɔʃot	‘wicked’	ɔsɔl	‘immovable, paralysis’
ɔgolana	‘vomit’	ɔbothar	‘incarnation’
ɔɸobitrɔ	‘impure’	ɔbɔɲxar	‘ornament’

၁၂၀၁	'improper time'	၁၂၀၁	'unchaste'
agor	'former'	agor	'yes'
၂၀၁	'time'		

RC / ဝ / in the word-final position, such as :

byast	'busy'	ast	'weapon'
၁၂၀၁	'impure'	indr	'the king of heaven'
æk	'one hundred'	anond	'delight'
agor	'eleven'	axann	'fifty one'
bar	'twelve'	thar	'thirteen'
fulw	'sixteen'	phonr	'fifteen'
athar	'eighteen'	st	'seventeen'
fatann	'fifty seven'		

RC / a / in the word-initial position, such as :

agat	'sky'	alada	'separate'
ayn	'law'	agor	'former'
akar	'form'	agor	'yes'
aga	'tip'	anjul	'finger'
azu	'grandfather'	atatya	'not heated'
ada	'ginger'	adam	'village'
adalbt	'court'	aday	'collection'
adi	'prior', 'first'	andar	'dark'
anond	'delight'	añil	'appeal'
abad	'cultivated land'	abedon	'petition'
abedon gorana	'apply'	am	'mango'
amra	'hog-plum'	alu	'potato'
amol	'period'		

RC / a / in the word-medial position, such as :

xobal	'forehead'		
alada	'separate'	adam	'village'
adalbt	'court'	aday	'collection'

agatʃ	‘sky’	andar	‘dark’
abad	‘cultivated land’	ɔxal	‘bad season’
ɔboθar	‘incarnation’	ɔnuman	‘guess’
ɔlɔɲxar	‘ornament’	dɔladoli	‘party spirit, party turmoil’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	dɔrani	‘alarming’
ɔgɔlana	‘vomit’	oyar	‘pillowcase’
æxali	‘eighty one’	ægarɔ	‘eleven’
æktal	‘many’	dæmakkyā	‘proud’
dæratʃ	‘drawer’		

RC / a / in the word-final position, such as :

ɸada	‘leaf’	alada	‘separate’
aga	‘tip’	ada	‘ginger’
amɾa	‘hog-plum’	ɔza	‘pestle of a husking pedal’
oya	‘the period during which the Buddhist monk and nun used to spend in rainy season’	æra	‘flesh’
dæna	‘debt’	dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’
dæbɔradʒa	‘the kind of gods’	bæɾana	‘walk’
uburana	‘to uproot’	gudʒɔna	‘insert’
iridena	‘to give up’	zila	‘district’
elaxa	‘area’	eŋela hugur	‘male dog’

Chittagong Bengali (CB), too, shows the same distributional patterns of vowels in words. These are shown below :

CB / i / in the word-initial position, such as :

iliʃ	‘a kind of fish’	ibyæ	‘this’
itor	‘low’	iti	‘end’
ifyara	‘hint’		

CB / i / in the word-medial position, such as :

doyin	‘south’	zilik	‘brightness’
dʒiliɸi	‘a kind of sweets’	dʒibanu	‘germ’

niti	‘principle’	bilafita	‘luxury’
ɔfɔbitrɔ	‘impure’	mayrɔfit	‘quarrel’

CB / i / in the word-final position, such as :

unnɔti	‘progress’	deji	‘homemade’, ‘countrymade’
niti	‘principle’	xobi	‘poet’
beymani	‘treachery’	bafi	‘stale’
xoti	‘loss’	netri	‘female leader’

CB / e / in the word-initial position, such as :

ekkuni	‘now’	eloxeji	‘woman with dishevelled hair’
elomelo	‘disordered’	ebæla	‘this part of the day’

CB / e / in the word-medial position, such as :

netri	‘female leader’	beymani	‘treachery’
bexar	‘unemployed’	begar	‘unpaid worker’
elomelo	‘disordered’	eloxeji	‘woman with dishevelled hair’

CB / e / in the word-final position, such as :

xɔde	‘where’	ẽde	‘here’
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CB / æ / in the word-initial position, such as :

ækɔ	‘one-hundred’	æk	‘one’
ægarɔ	‘eleven’	æxannɔ	‘fifty one’
æbbæræ	‘entirely’	æxa	‘alone’
ælaxa	‘area’		

CB / æ / in the word-medial position, such as :

ɔnæk	‘enough’	dæmak	‘vanity’
dæbatta	‘sacred heart or soul’		

CB / æ / in the word-final position, such as :

uguryæ	‘upstairs’	alfiyæ	‘lazy’
ʔoyldyæ	‘yellow’	ɔɔrayæ	‘worried’
agæ	‘before’	ɔɔræ	‘afterwards’

CB / u / in the word-initial position, such as :

uttər	‘answer, north’	uyn	‘louse’
ur	‘on’	uʃ	‘camel’
uɖan	‘courtyard’		

CB / u / in the word-medial position, such as :

ɸul	‘flower’	tuɸan	‘storm’
xutta	‘dog’	rukkuɔ	‘rough’
ʃudʒdʒwə	‘sun’	ɸub	‘east’
muktwə	‘pearl’	b’ut	‘ghost’
g’uʃi	‘kite’		

CB / u / in the word-final position, such as :

d’atu	‘metal’	ɣintu	‘but’
ʃotru	‘enemy’		

CB / o / in the word-initial position, such as :

oyngo	‘other’	ol	‘an edible stem’
obæla	‘that part of the day’	ozon	‘weight’
ostad	‘master’		

CB / o / in the word-medial position, such as :

gora	‘stem’	bon	‘sister’
xorɸur	‘camphor’	ɸulxoɸi	‘cauliflower’
xodal	‘shavel’	sor	‘thief’
sok	‘eye’	gol	‘circle’

CB / o / in the word-final position, such as :

sinno	‘mark’	ɸɔddo	‘lotus’
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CB / ɔ / in the word-initial position, such as :

ɔxal	‘bad season’	ɔsəl	‘immovable’
ɔniʃɔ	‘harm’	ɔʃanti	‘want of peace’
ɔnuman	‘guess’	ɔsthi	‘bone’
ɔbak	‘astonished’	ɔstro	‘weapon’

CB / ɔ / in the word-medial position, such as :

mən	‘mind’	ʃundɔr	‘beautiful’
bɔsɔr	‘year’	ɡɔnɔn	‘calculation’
ɡɔla	‘neck’	rɔktɔ	‘blood’
zɔr	‘rain’	bɔrɔɸ	‘snow’

CB / ɔ / in the word-final position, such as :

unnɔtɔ	‘developed’	nagɔr sidrɔ	‘nostril’
b’umixɔmpɔ	‘earthquake’	ʃudʒdʒwɔ	‘sun’
b’alɔ	‘good’		

CB / a / in the word-initial position, such as :

axaʃ	‘sky’	aste aste	‘slowly’
alu	‘potato’	ada	‘ginger’
adalɔt	‘court’	am	‘mango’

CB / a / in the word-medial position, such as :

axaʃ	‘sky’	ɡɔlɡal	‘fat and plump’
ɔʃanti	‘trouble’, ‘want of peace’	eɸar	‘this side’
ɔnuman	‘guess’	nilam	‘auction’
ɡas	‘tree’		

CB / a / in the word-final position, such as :

ɡɔyna	‘ornament’	neta	‘leader’
lamba	‘height’	ɡɔɽa	‘stem’
dʒuta	‘shoe’	baba	‘father’
mama	‘mother’s brother’		

2.3.2.2 Length of Vowels

Chakma spoken in Rangamati does not display significant variation in length of vowels. Similarly, vowels of Chittagong Bengali also do not vary according to their length.

2.3.2.3 Nasalization of Vowels

Prof. Maniruzzaman (1994:162) states that nasalization of vowels is not observed in Chakma. Nasalization of vowels is not noticeable in the present analysis of Chakma spoken

in Rangamati, Bangladesh and this fact is established on the grounds that Chakma vowel phonemes are not affected by this phonological feature no matter whereabouts in the words they appear. Vowels of the following examples cease to be nasalized.

ʃar	‘bull’	ʔatʃ	‘duck’
ɸatʃ	‘five’	ʃidur	‘vermilion’

This is the area where Rangamati Chakma strikingly differs from Chittagong Bengali. According to Abdul Korim (1964, in Maniruzzaman 1994:320), nasalization of vowels is extensively used in Chittagong Bengali. In the present study, the above phonological feature is also noticed. Some examples are as follows :

ʃiya	‘money’	ãy	‘I’
xõɖe	‘where’	ãra	‘we’
õnar	‘your – honorific’	dũyrgya	‘mid-day’
		õl	‘finger’
ãrar	‘our’	xõr	‘waist’
tõyar	‘your – non-honorific’	õyn	‘fire’
xõyora	‘crab’	ẽɖe	‘here’
xãreyæ	‘when’		

2.3.3 CONSONANTS

2.3.3.1 Distribution of Consonants

Distributional patterns of all consonants are very much restricted. Some can occur in the three positions of words but others cannot. In Chittagong Bengali too, all the consonants are not distributed in the three positions of words.

2.3.3.2 Description of Consonants

In this variety of Chakma twenty three consonant phonemes are identified and neutralization is common owing to the distributions of discrete phonemic segments. In Rangamati Chakma the following categories of consonants have been noticed in the present observation.

stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, lateral, rolled, flapped, semi-vowels and implosives.

Stops : In Rangamati Chakma bilabial, dental, velar and glottal stops appear. Here we have two types of stop— voiceless and voiced.

Velar voiceless stops : RC velar voiceless stop / k / occurs word finally, e.g.

bək	‘stork’	nak	‘nose’
biɸəddʒək	‘dangerous’	nayək	‘actor’
buk	‘chest’	muk	‘mouth’, ‘face’
dʒilik	‘brightness’	dæmak	‘gravity’
məgərək	‘astonished’	nək	‘husband’
salak	‘clever’		

RC / k / is neutralized with RC / g / word-medially, e.g. [ugun] ‘louse’, [hogil] ‘cuckoo’ etc. The occurrences of RC / k / word-medially is an exception e.g. [thikthiki]
[_{maxu}] ‘lizard’, ‘shuttle’.

The velar fricative [x] is an allophone of / k / in Rangamati Chakma and its distribution is restricted to the word-initial position, where it is in free-variation with [h].

[xal ~ hal] ‘season’ [xat mistri ~ hat mistri] ‘carpenter’

[th] is an allophone of / t / in Rangamati Chakma. In a few words / t / occurs in the medial position. But in most of the words, it is neutralized with / d / in the said position. e.g.

[ɸada] ‘leaf’

[t] is mainly found in the word-final position in Rangamati Chakma, e.g.,

ret	‘night’	ubot	‘reversed’
egot	‘sudden’	adalot	‘court’
idʒdʒot	‘prestige’	rit	‘season’
gat	‘cave’	ɸirit	‘love’
bat	‘news’, ‘information’, ‘gout’, ‘rheumatism’	himmət	‘courage’
mət	‘opinion’	inʒit	‘signal’

Appearance of bilabial, voiceless stop / p / is found in the word-final position in Rangamati Chakma e.g.

golap	‘rose’	bexup	‘stupid’
ʃap	‘snake’	map	‘pardon’, ‘measure’
map gərana	‘forgive’, ‘to measure’	thap	‘heat’
dip	‘island’	thep	‘curved’

The neutralization of the RC phoneme / p / with / b / occurs word-medially and here we get / b /.

[uboryæ]	‘above’	[ʃuburi]	‘betelnut’
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From the examples shown below it is sufficiently clear that the bilabial fricative [φ] which is an allophone of / p / also occurs word-medially in Rangamati Chakma.

[siφay]	‘army’	[aφel]	‘apple’
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In Rangamati Chakma / ʔ / is a voiceless glottal stop which is found word-initially and medially.

RC / ʔ / in the word-initial position :

ʔinʃya	‘jealousy’	ʔoy	‘is’, ‘be’
ʔazar	‘thousand’	ʔar	‘necklace’
ʔolot	‘turmeric’	ʔodʒom	‘digestion’
ʔodʒom gɔrana	‘digest’	ʔaŋɔr	‘shark’
ʔa	‘opening’	ʔa gɔrana	‘to open the mouth’
ʔazira	‘attendance’	ʔat	‘hand’
ʔat thulana	‘to raise hand’	ʔat dæna	‘to give one’s hand to’
ʔade xɔlbme	‘practically’	ʔal	‘plough’
ʔidʒeb	‘account’, ‘calculation’	ʔidʒeb gɔrana	‘calculate’
ʔidʒeb dæna	‘render an account’	ʔidʒebi	‘prudent’, ‘calculating’, ‘careful’
ʔudʒiyar	‘careful’	ʔudʒiyari	‘carefulness’
ʔuditʃ	‘trace’	ʔuditʃ φana	‘know the trace’
ʔugum	‘order’	ʔugum gɔrana	‘to give order’
ʔugumnama	‘warrant’	ʔelaφela	‘negligence’

RC / ʔ / in the word-medial position :

ʃɔʔtʃ	‘easy’	ʃaʔozi	‘brave’
daʔo	‘funeral’	φulʔobi	‘cauliflower’

In Chittagong Bengali, bilabial voiceless plosive / p / and velar voiceless plosive / k / cannot occur word initially and medially and can occur word-finally like that of Rangamati Chakma.

CB / k / in the word-final position :

salak	'clever'	zilik	'brightness'
ɔbak	'astonished'	buk	'heart'
muk	'face'	ʃk	'sour'

CB / p / in the word-final position :

golap	'rose'	ɸap	'sin'
hap	'snake'	map	'pardon'
dip	'island'	tap	'heat'
xarap	'bad'		

In Rangamati Chakma, voiceless dental plosive / t / as [t] is found only in the word-final position whereas this has its distribution in all the positions of a word in Chittagong Bengali.

CB / t / in the word-initial position such as :

tama	'copper'	tuɸan	'storm'
tap	'heat'	tamak	'tobacco'
tæl	'oil'		

CB / t / in the word-medial position such as :

d'atu	'metal'	bilafita	'luxury'
ɔstro	'weapon'	ɸitɔk	'separate'
ɔɸɔbitrɔ	'impure'	niti	'principle'
rɔktɔ	'blood'	xintu	'but'

CB / t / in the word-final position such as :

ɸit	'back'	mayrɸit	'quarrel'
b'ut	'ghost'	biddut	'lightning'
zɔgɔt	'universe'		

In Chittagong Bengali voiceless glottal stop / ʔ / can occur word initially and medially like that of Rangamati Chakma.

CB / ʔ / in the word-initial position :

ʔat	'hand'	ʔiŋʃya	'jealousy'
ʔaŋɔr	'shark'	ʔazar	'thousand'
ʔazira	'attendance'	ʔælaɸæla	'negligence'

CB / ʔ / in the word-medial position :

ʃɔʔɔd ₃	‘easy’	ʃaʔoʃi	‘brave’
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Voiced stops : In Rangamati Chakma, / b /, / d / and / g / are bilabial, dental and velar voiced stops respectively.

Voiced stops / b, d, g / occur in all the three positions of words.

RC / b / in the word-initial position :

bazi	‘flute’	badam	‘groundnut’
begun	‘brinjal’	bodolana	‘change’
bandor	‘monkey’	byastɔ	‘busy’
baksu	‘box’	barbuwɔ	‘proud’
baŋ	‘left’	bɔzɔr	‘year’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	bayrendi	‘outside’
barɔ	‘twelve’	bæɾana	‘walk’
biley	‘cat’	bil	‘lake’
bileʃ	‘luxury’	bini	‘sweet’
bini sol	‘a kind of rice’	bondi	‘captive’
beymani	‘treachery’	bekmili	‘all together’
bexar	‘unemployed’	begar	‘unpaid workers’

RC / b / in the word-medial position :

durbɔl	‘weak’	labana	‘jump’
nɔtuba	‘unless’	ʃuburi	‘betelnut’
gabur milyæ	‘bachelor’	lamba	‘long’
xɔbal	‘forehead’	thaba	‘claw’
ubot	‘reversed’	ubottun	‘from there’
bɔdabudi	‘wrestling’	ɔbothar	‘incarnation’
ɔʔɔbitrɔ	‘impure’	thɔbɔʃi	‘hermit’
abad	‘cultivated land’	abedɔn	‘petition’
abedɔn gɔrana	‘apply’	dæbɔrad ₃ a	‘the king of gods’
uburana	‘to uproot’	d ₃ ibanu	‘germ’
nibban	‘complete emancipation’ (of the individual soul)		

nidiban	‘moralist’	ðibir ðibir gori	‘slowly’
xabuli	‘Afgani’	xobi	‘poet’
dɔladoli	‘party spirit’, ‘party turmoil’	æbbæræ	‘entirely’
dʒɔdebɔdæ	‘right’, ‘correct’	murubbi	‘leader’
ðegoba	‘nest’		

RC / b / in the word-final position :

ðub	‘east’	indʒeb ɡɔrana	‘justify’
utʃɔb	‘festival’	rub	‘beauty’
dʒɔb	‘barley’	ʃib	‘the lord Shiva’

RC / d / in the word-initial position :

din	‘day’	dut	‘milk’
durbɔl	‘weak’	dam	‘cost’
dagana	‘point’	dɔɾi	‘rope’
duk ɸana	‘suffer’	dɔrxari	‘important’
dabana	‘thigh’	dat	‘tooth’
dip	‘island’	dogin	‘south’
dɔrani	‘alarming’	dɔladoli	‘party turmoil’
dæzi	‘homemade’, ‘countrymade’	dædar	‘profuse’
dæna	‘debt’	dænadar	‘debtor’
dæbaxul	‘race of gods’	dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’
dæmak	‘gravity’	dæmakkyā	‘proud’
dæratʃ	‘drawer’	durbin	‘telescope’
dur ɡɔrana	‘remove’		

RC / d / in the word-medial position :

mada	‘head’	bandɔr	‘monkey’
bɔdolana	‘change’	ɸudwɔ	‘point’
ɸadana	‘send’	ɸɔrendi	‘after’
ɸitʃ ɪʃendi	‘behind’	sogo ɸada	‘eyelid’
ɸɔddo ɸul	‘lotus’	mada habɔr	‘veil’
sidu	‘there’	thanda	‘cold’

jiddwə	'boiled'	idu	'here'
indrə	'the king of heaven'	indi	'here'
iridena	'to give up'	sidya	'thought'
zindya	'alive'	nidi	'moral ethics'
nidiban	'moralist'	dʒidi	'adamant'
dɔladoli	'party turmoil'	bondi	'captive'
endi undi	'this and that'	ʃædeya	'proud'
gudom	'godown'	idu	'here'
hudu	'where'	alada	'separate'
ada	'ginger'	adam	'village'
anəndə	'delight'	thidi	'lunar day'

RC / d / in the word-final position :

adɔmud	'fist'	ɸid	'faint'
ɸad	'tear', 'break'	ʃɔd	'conscious', 'alert'
ʃud	'interest'	rad	'scarcity, want, famine'
bid	'opinion', 'notion'	bad	'rejected'
ɸɔd	'quick'		

RC / g / in the word-initial position :

gal	'cheek'	gɔrɔm hal	'summer'
gul	'round'	gaŋ	'river'
ʃigɔn gaŋ	'stream'	gatʃ	'tree'
golap	'rose'	goru	'cow'
gabur	'labourer'	gulmoritʃ	'black pepper'
gɔm	'wheat'	gurguri	'children'
guli	'bullet'	guri	'girl'
gɔnɔni	'calculation'	gudʒɔna	'insert'
gudʒɔb	'rumour'	gudom	'godown'
gutti	'a group of families having the same ancestor'	gun	'quality'
gun gun	'hum'	gulmal	'noise'
gulgal	'plump'		

RC / g / is the word-medial position :

ragi	'angry'	φoŋgu	'crippled'
ʃugunwɔ	'dry'	ugun	'louse'
ʃogun	'vulture'	hagotʃ	'paper'
iŋgit	'signal'	dogin	'south'
ʃigon	'little'	φagi	'deceit', 'trick'
ʃigi	'male rat'	gurguri	'children'
egnayɔkthɔntrɔ	'dictatorship'	egnayɔk	'dictator'
egot	'sudden'	egot gori	'suddenly'
dærgun	'one and a half'	ɔgæ	'with'
thigyæ	'lasting'	uguræ uguræ	'on the top, superficially'
urgo	'flying'	gulgal	'plump'
agatʃ	'sky'	agɔŋ	'yes'
aga	'tip'	ægarɔ	'eleven'
ɔgolana	'vomit'	ɔʃugi	'unhappy'

RC / g / in the word-final position :

rag	'anger'	φug	'worm'
mæg	'cloud'	ittug	'little by little'
nirog	'free from disease'	ɔʃug	'disease'

/ p, t, k, b, d, g / are also found in Maniruzzaman (1994:162).

In Chittagong Bengali too, voiced stops / b, d and g / are distributed in the three positions of words.

CB / b / in the word-initial position such as

badam	'groundnut'	banɔr	'monkey'
bazar	'market'	barɔ	'twelve'
begar	'unpaid workers'		

CB / b / in the word-medial position such as

durbal	'weak'	boba	'dumb'
ɔmba	'long'	ɔbak	'astonished'

CB / b / in the word-final position such as

utʃɔb	'festival'	ʃib	'the lord Shiva'
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CB / d / in the word-initial position such as

dæna	'debt'	debraz	'the king of heaven'
doyin	'south'	durbol	'weak'
dæmak	'vanity'	dorozya	'door'
doḡi	'rope'	dorxari	'important'

CB / d / in the word-medial position such as

ada	'ginger'	ḡundor	'beautiful'
bondi	'captive'	xodabatta	'conversation'

CB / d / in the word-final position such as

ostad	'skilled'	dud	'milk'
mød	'wine'		

CB / g / in the word-initial position such as

gun	'quality'	golgal	'plump'
ḡonon	'calculation'	guli	'bullet'
ḡoyna	'ornament'	gas	'tree'
gol	'circle'	ḡorom	'hot'

CB / g / in the word-medial position such as

begar	'unpaid worker'	nayrgol	'cocoanut'
ragi	'angry'		

CB / g / in the word-final position such as

rag	'anger'
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Affricates : As Maniruzzaman (1994:162) says, there are two affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ in Chakma.

In Rangamati Chakma /tʃ/ neutralizes with /dʒ/ word-finally and we have /tʃ/ e.g.

[mɔḡotʃ]	'brain'	[latʃ]	'shame' etc.
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RC / tʃ / mainly occurs word-finally e.g.

lætʃ	'tail'	gatʃ	'tree'
matʃ	'fish'	agatʃ	'sky'
bitʃ	'poison'	dətʃ	'ten'
motʃ	'buffalo'	rətʃ	'juice'

gulmoritʃ	‘black pepper’	agɔdʒɔ batʃ	‘thunder’
natʃ	‘dance’	mɔgɔtʃ	‘brain’
hagotʃ	‘paper’	æktʃollitʃ	‘forty one’
dæratʃ	‘drawer’	mædʒatʃ	‘temper’
hɔtʃ	‘itching’	ɸiyætʃ	‘onion’

Only in a few words, it appears word medially e.g. [elatʃi] ‘cardamom’, [itʃtʃor] ‘god’
etc.

RC / d₃ / is found in the initial and medial positions.

RC / d₃ / in the word-initial position :

dʒɔnɔm	‘birth’	dʒadi	‘soon’
dʒindʒinnyæ batʃ	‘pungent’	dʒimbya	‘custody’
dʒilik	‘brightness’	dʒilebi	‘a kind of sweetmeat’
dʒibanu	‘germ’	dʒidi	‘adamant’
dʒæmithi	‘geometry’	dʒær	‘back’
dʒærendi	‘at last’	dʒɔkkɔnæ	‘when’, ‘while’
dʒɔdebɔdæ	‘right’, ‘correct’	dʒænæ	‘where to’, ‘so that’
dʒænæ ʃænæ	‘anyhow’, ‘somehow’	dʒudʒu	‘welcome’
dʒun	‘moon’	dʒummo	‘hilly peasant’

RC / d₃ / in the word-medial position :

rayndʒɔni	‘rainbow’	agɔdʒɔ batʃ	‘thunder’
thamdʒaɳ	‘waterfall’	dʒindʒinnyæ batʃ	‘pungent’
idʒdʒɔt	‘prestige’	indʒeb gɔrana	‘justify’, ‘consider’
mædʒatʃ	‘temper’	gudʒɔb	‘rumour’
gudʒɔna	‘insert’	dʒudʒu	‘welcome’
budʒdʒya	‘old man’	bidʒu	‘the Chakma national festival’
odʒɔn	‘weight’	odʒɔn gɔrana	‘measure’

/ d₃ / and / tʃ / are also found in Chittagong Bengali and they are considered as voiced palato-alveolar affricate and voiceless palato-alveolar affricate respectively. / tʃ / occurs word-medially in Chittagong Bengali like that of Rangamati Chakma e.g.

batʃtʃa	‘child’	naytʃtʃe	‘has / have danced’
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/ d₃ / of Chittagong Bengali is distributed word-medially e.g.

ʃud ₃ d ₃ wɔ	‘sun’	ud ₃ d ₃ ɔl	‘bright’
gud ₃ ɔb	‘rumour’	ʌd ₃ d ₃ a	‘shame’

Fricatives : Glottal fricative / h /, alveo-palatal fricative / ʃ / and alveolar fricative / z / appear in Rangamati Chakma. Fricatives / h / and / ʃ / have also been identified by Maniruzzaman (1994 : 162).

RC / ʃ / occurs in the word-initial, medial and final positions.

RC / ʃ / in the word-initial position :

ʃɔpta	‘week’	ʃrot	‘current’
ʃomudrɔ	‘sea’	ʃundri	‘bellows’
ʃarɔʃi	‘tongs’	ʃil	‘rock’
ʃudwɔ	‘cotton’	ʃinʃor	‘root’
ʃigon	‘little’	ʃigana	‘learn’
ʃinʃ	‘horn’	ʃap	‘snake’
ʃar	‘manure’	ʃor	‘father-in-law’
ʃori	‘mother-in-law’	ʃogun	‘vulture’
ʃɔmɔy	‘time’	ʃumi	‘bean’
ɔʃɔmɔy	‘improper time’		

RC / ʃ / in the word-medial position

ɔʃustɔ	‘ill’	naʃpati	‘pear’
bakʃu	‘box’	ɔʃug	‘disease’
ɔʃugi	‘unhappy’	ɔʃorʃu	‘day after tomorrow’
ɔʃustɔ	‘ill’	ɔʃur	‘demon’
æxɔʃi	‘eighty one’		

/ ʃ / in the word-final position

bileʃ	‘luxury’	ʔɔtaʃ	‘upset’
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/ s / is found rarely.

The alveolar voiced fricative / z / occurs word-initially and medially in Rangamati Chakma.

RC / z / in the word-initial position :

zanla	‘window’	zɔda	‘shoe’
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zal	'net'	zagana	'awake'
hayllyæ zire	'black gram'	zadi zadi	'hurry'
zindya	'alive'	zila	'district'

RC / z / in the word-medial position :

mazi	'fly'	bizi	'seed'
φozim	'west'	azu	'father's father'
mizyæ	'false'	buzol	'earthquake'
ræzom	'silk'	bəzəŋ	'bad'
thamzaŋ	'waterfall'	iziryæ	'hint'
iziryæ gərana	'to hint'	dæzi	'homemade', 'countrymade'
uzunizu	'high and low'	φizu	'paternal great grandfather'
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'	ɔza	'pestle of a husking pedal'
ɔzɔl	'high'		

/ d₃ / and / z / are treated as free variants in Rangamati Chakma e.g. [d₃aga ~ zaga]
'place' etc.

RC / h / occurs word initially and medially.

RC / h / in the word-initial position :

haru	'bangle'	hudu	'where'
hay	'near'	han	'ear'
hunoy	'elbow'	hætʃ	'hair of body'
hɔlt	'lap'	huʃi	'twenty'
həmər	'waist'	hal	'time'
hagotʃ	'paper'	haza	'green'
hugur	'dog'	har	'whose'
haræ	'whom'	humor	'potter'
hamar	'blacksmith'	haŋara	'crab'
hizu	'few'	hiye samara	'skin'
hoytʃɔiye manutʃ	'beloved'	hɔk	'curved'
hɔtʃ	'itching'	hɔn	'stammering'
hɔn hɔn	'hesitation in speech'		

hobordar	'precaution'	hobor dæna	'inform'
hobor	'news'	hali	'vacant'
hali gorana	'to vacate'	hun	'murder'
hun gorana	'to murder'	huni	'murderer'
hedzur	'date palm'	hedi	'agriculture'
hene hene	'meanwhile'		
honi	'tobacco powder mixed with lime'		

RC / h / occurs word-medially :

phulhobi	'cauliflower'	garhul	'bank of a river'
mahon	'butter'	narihul	'coconut'

In Chittagong Bengali / z / is a voiced dental fricative occurring word-initially, medially and finally.

CB / z / in the word-initial position such as :

zal	'net'	zogot	'universe'
zobdo	'humiliated'	zoma	'collect'
zat	'caste'	zadu	'charm'
zæla	'zila'	zibon	'life'
zuya	'gambling'		

CB / z / in the word-medial position such as :

maza	'pleasure'	azuya	'today'
bazna	'musical instrument'	bazi	'bet'
baze	'unnecessary'	xazol	'stibium'
xazu	'cashew'	mazon	'tooth powder'

CB / z / in the word-final position such as :

lez	'tail'	baz	'thunderbolt'
tez	'energy'		

CB voiceless glottal fricative / h / occurs only word-initially like that of Rangamati Chakma e.g.

hap	'snake'	hala	'wife's brother'
hali	'wife's sister'	hal	'plough'
hatol	'handle'	hamondista	'mortar and pestle'

Alveo-palatal voice^{less} fricative / ʃ / also occurs in the initial position of a word in Chittagong Bengali like that of Rangamati Chakma e.g.

ʃomman	‘prestige’	ʃoytan	‘naughty’
ʃirya	‘muscle’	ʃundor	‘beautiful’
ʃorir	‘body’	ʃirya	‘muscle’
ʃada	‘white’	ʃit	‘winter’

CB / ʃ / occurs word-medially e.g.

ʃorʃu	‘day after tomorrow’	alʃiyæ	‘lazy’
briʃi	‘rain’	bilafita	‘luxury’
ʃur	‘demon’		

CB / ʃ / also occurs word-finally e.g.

axaʃ	‘sky’	maʃ	‘month’
bataʃ	‘wind’		

Nasals : According to Maniruzzaman (1994:162) three nasals / m, n, ŋ / are found in Rangamati Chakma. Among the three nasals— bilabial / m /, alveolar / n / and ‘velar’ / ŋ / — only / m / and / n / are distributed in all positions of words. / ŋ / is distributed in the intervocalic and final positions in Rangamati Chakma.

RC / m / in the word-initial position :

manutʃ	‘man’	milyæ	‘girl’
məgətʃ	‘brain’	rana mərət	‘young man’
mada	‘head’	matʃ	‘month’
mæg	‘cloud’	mittor	‘friend’
muni	‘saint’	mukti	‘freedom’
mukti ɸana	‘to be set free’	mukti ɸotrə	‘deed of release’
muri	‘hill’	murubbi	‘leader’
mul	‘root’	muli	‘yeast for making wine’
məŋ	‘bell of Buddhist temple’	məgərək	‘astonished’
mən	‘mind’	mep	‘map’
mon	‘mountain’	monor	‘of mountain’
mok	‘wife’	meyabi	‘illusive’

meyabiddya	'magical art'	metʃ metʃ ɡɔrana	'feel sick in body'
muromuri	'hills and rivers'	muy	'I'
malum	'perception', 'knowledge'	mala	'garland'
mal	'goods'	mət	'opinion'
marana	'beat'	məydeya	'flower'
mulo	'raddish'	mənət ɡɔrana	'to recollect'

RC / m / in the word-medial position :

həmɔɾ	'waist'	humor	'potter'
hamar	'blacksmith'	himmət	'courage'
thama	'copper'	ɸittimi	'earth'
lamba	'height'	iman	'conscience'
imandar	'honest'	dʒimbya	'custody'
nilemi	'relating to auction'	nilmoni	'sapphire'
dæmak	'gravity'	dæmakkyā	'proud'
umi	'illiterate'	umor	'age'
dʒummo	'hilly peasant'	ɔnuman	'guess'
ɔnuman ɡɔrana	'to guess'	ɔʃɔməy	'improper time'
ʃɔməy	'time'	amɾa	'hog-plum'
ʃumi	'bean'	humir	'crocodile'
thumi	'you-pl'		

RC / m / in the word-final position :

ɸozim	'west'	ɡɔrəm hal	'summer'
ɡɔm	'good'	dam	'price'
nilem	'auction'	um	'heat'
adam	'village'	am	'mango'
nim	'neem'	guyam	'guava'

RC / n / in the word-initial position :

nək	'nail'	nanu	'father's mother'
næk	'husband'	na	'not'
nun	'salt'	nilem	'auction'
nidi	'moral ethics'	nilmoni	'sapphire'
naɾi	'pulse'		

RC / n / in the word-medial position :

nanu	'father's mother'	φani	'water'
ʃigana	'learn'	andar	'dark'
manutʃ	'man'	ʃona	'gold'
thanda	'cool'	gɔtna	'neck'
indrɔ	'the king of heaven'	ikkine	'now'
imandar	'honest'	indi	'here'
zindya	'alive'	φirana	'comeback'
		bini	'sweet'
bini sol	'a kind of rice'	bondi	'captive'
ɔnɔtɔtɔyæ	'for this reason, hence, therefore'	dæna	'debt'
dænadar	'debtor'	bæɾana	'walk'
dʒækkɔnæ	'while'	unnɔti	'rise'
muni	'saint'	iridena	'to give up'

RC / n / in the word-final position :

han	'ear'	nun	'salt'
ʃogun	'vulture'	den	'right'
ban	'flood'	san	'moon'
oyɲno din	'the other day'	ittun	'from here'
iyan	'this'	iman	'conscience'
dogin	'south'	sin	'identity', 'mark'
sin sin	'twinging sensation'	gun	'quality'

RC / ŋ / in the word-medial position :

daŋɔr	'big', 'large', 'wide'	ʔiŋʃuk	'jealous'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋara	'charcoal'
φoŋgu	'crippled'	ɔlɔŋxar	'ornament'
eŋela hugur	'male dog' iŋgit	'signal'	
eŋthenɔ beŋthenɔ	'negligence of duty'	eŋeli hugur	'female dog'
laŋyæ	'boy friend', 'paramour'		

RC / ɳ / in the word-final position :

gaɳ	'river'	baɳ	'left'
bæɳ	'frog'	thæɳ	'leg'
ʃiɳ	'horn'	læɳ	'lame'
ɸiriɳ	'grasshopper'	ɛɳthenɳ beɳthenɳ	'negligence of duty'

In Chittagong Bengali bilabial / m /, alveolar / n / and velar / ɳ / have the same distributions like those of Rangamati Chakma.

CB / m / in the word-initial position such as

moydyæ	'flour'	mul	'root'
mən	'mind'	muk	'mouth'
maɸi	'earth (ground)'		

CB / m / in the word-medial position such as

lɔmba	'tall'	ximba	'or'
dæmak	'vanity'	ʃɔmman	'prestige'
tama	'copper'		

CB / m / in the word-final position such as

bəllɔm	'spear'	gram	'village'
nilam	'auction'	badam	'groundnut'
gɔm	'wheat'	gɔrɔm	'hot'

CB / n / in the word-initial position such as

nayrgol	'cocoanut'	nay	'navel'
nok	'nail'	nak	'nose'
naɸk	'drama'		

CB / n / in the word-medial position such as

xonuy	'elbow'	ayna	'mirror'
boynnya	'flood'	oynno	'other'
anɔndɔ	'delight', 'happiness'	sinno	'mark'
ʃona	'gold'	ɸani	'water'

CB / n / in the word-final position such as

doyn	'south'	ʃoytan	'naughty'
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gun	'quality'	gɔnɔn	'calculation'
maxɔn	'butter'	xan	'ear'
din	'day'		

CB / ɲ / in the word-medial position such as

dʒɔɲɔl	'forest'	ɲɲi	'ring'
ɲur	'grapes'	maɲɔ	'meat'
ɸɔɲgu	'crippled'	noɲra	'dirty'

CB / ɲ / in the word-final position such as

ɲiɲ	'horn'	bæɲ	'frog'
rɔɲ	'colour'		

Lateral : According to Maniruzzaman (1994:162) lateral /l/ is noticed in Chakma. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions of words in Rangamati Chakma.

RC / l / in the word-initial position :

lɔɭaloɽi	'fighting with each other'	laɲ	'lover'
labɔɭ	'lust'	liklikkyæ	'slender'
ley	'bamboo basket for keeping rice etc.'	leda	'weak'
lo	'blood'	letto	'saliva'
ledʒa	'slopping end of hills'	lut	'to rob'
ludu	'gentle in manner'	lætɭ	'tail of an animal'
lɔna	'take'	laɲyæ	'boy friend', 'paramour'
lɔg	'companion'	lɔge	'with'
lɔna	'take'	lɔda ɸada	'plants and leaves'

RC / l / in the word-medial position :

gɔla	'throat'	milyæ	'girl'
thɔlæ	'low'	salak	'clever'
bollɔm	'spear'	biley	'cat'
ulɔt ɸalɔt	'disorder'	dɔladoli	'party spirit', 'party turmoil'
ɔgolana	'vomit'	alada	'separate'
zila	'district'	ilibili	'zigzag'

iliʃ	'a kind of fish'	ithola	'brick field'
dʒilik	'brightness'	dʒilebi	'a kind of sweetmeat'
nilem	'auction'	nilmoni	'sapphire'
thali	'clapping of hands'	thoʃoli	'scheduled'
thalimali	'fun and merriment'	sili	'bark'
guli	'bullet'	elaxa	'area'
xale xale	'in course of time'	thelon	'boiler'
alu	'potato'	lɔʔaloʔi	'fighting with the other'

RC / l / in the word-final position :

gal	'chin'	aŋul	'finger'
hal	'time', 'season'	aʔæl	'apple'
sul	'hair'	ul	'wool'
æktal	'many'	bil	'lake'
debaxul	'race of gods'		

The above speech sound i.e. / l / is also found in Chittagong Bengali with the same distributions :

CB / l / in the word-initial position :

lɔdʒdʒa	'shame'	lebu	'lemon'
laŋol	'plough'	lal	'red'

CB / l / in the word-medial position :

bolɔm	'spear'	alʃiyæ	'lazy'
ʃalʃala	'branch'	alu	'potato'
golap	'rose'	ælas	'cardamom'
bala	'bangle'	salak	'clever'

CB / l / in the word-final position :

nayrgol	'cocoanut'	xaʃʃol	'jackfruit'
ʃol	'fruit'	xodal	'axe'
ʃul	'flower'	ɔsɔl	'motionless'
tæl	'oil'	lal	'red'
gol	'circle'		

Rolled : As Maniruzzaman (1994 : 162) has already mentioned, alveolar rolled / r / is present in Rangamati Chakma and distributed word-initially, medially and finally.

RC / r / in the word-initial position :

ret	'night'	rit	'season'
raynd ₃ oni	'rainbow'	ragi	'anger'
rotʃ	'juice'		

RC / r / in the word-medial position :

gorip	'poor'	ordæk	'half'
deri	'late'	ʃori	'mother-in-law'
baral	'liver'	marana	'beat'
ori	'enemy'	ɔstro	'weapon'
dorani	'alarming'	indro	'the king of heaven'
ægaro	'eleven'	baro	'twelve'
thæro	'thirteen'	ɸonro	'fifteen'
ʃtro	'seventeen'	æra	'flesh'
		uburana	'to uproot'
iridena	'to give up'	uguryæ	'upstairs'
utʃtʃorana	'dedicate'	uro	'shed', 'den'
durbin	'telescope'	muri	'hill'
istiri	'iron'	indroɸuri	'the place of king Indra'
irukgɔron	'modernization'	iziryæ	'hint'
iziryæ gorana	'to hint'	ɸiriŋ	'grasshopper'
		nirɔg	'healthy', 'free from disease'
gurguri	'children'	guri	'girl'
eraeri	'separation'	eghuri	'twenty'
egotgori	'suddenly'	æbbæræ	'entirely'
ʃæret gori	'quickly'	d ₃ ærendi	'at last'
dæborad ₃ a	'the king of gods'	dæratʃ	'drawer'
murubbi	'leader'	haru	'bangle'

RC / r / in the word-final position :

hugur	'dog'	ser	'four'
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gabor	'labourer'	andar	'dark'
gabor milyæ	'young lady'	ækbar	'once'
daŋor	'big', 'large'	oyar	'pillow case'
izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'	uttor	'answer'
uttor xal	'future time'	uttor gɔrana	'to answer'
umor	'age'		
ɔʃur	'demon'	agor	'former'
axar	'form'	ɔlɔŋxar	'ornament'
utʃʃur	'dedication'	imandar	'honest'
ɸibir ɸibir gori	'slowly'	eɸar	'this side'
eɸar oɸar	'this side and other'	dædar	'profuse'
dur gɔrana	'remove'		

Chittagong Bengali also shows the use of / r / in the three positions of words.

CB / r / in the word-initial position such as :

rukko	'rough'	rakto	'blood'
rasta	'road'	rupa	'silver'
ron	'garlic'		

CB / r / in the word-medial position such as :

nayrgol	'cocoanut'	nɔrom	'soft'
xarap	'bad'	ʃotru	'enemy'
gɔrom	'hot'	tara	'star'
bɔrɔp	'snow'	aro	'more'

CB / r / in the word-final position such as :

ar	'also'	begar	'unpaid worker'
bexar	'unemployed'	ʃundɔr	'beautiful'
uttor	'north'	badur	'bat'
ɸar	'bank of river'	abar	'again'

Flapped : Retroflex / ɽ / of Rangamati Chakma cannot occur word-initially. It occurs elsewhere.

RC / ɾ / in the word-medial position

aɾay	'two and a half'	buɾo manutʃ	'old man'
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RC / ɾ / in the word-final position

dæɾ	'one and a half'
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Semi-vowels : The semi-vowels / w / and / y / are mentioned by Maniruzzaman (1994:162).

In the present work it has been observed that two semi-vowels — bilabial / w / and palatal / y / cannot occur word initially in Rangamati Chakma.

RC / w / in the word-medial position

ɸuwɔ	'boy'	ʃulwɔ	'sixteen'
hurwɔ	'cock'	barbuwɔ	'proud'
dʒurwɔ	'cold'	ʃudwɔ	'cotton'
huwɔ	'well'	luwɔ	'iron'
ʃudʒdʒwɔ	'sun'	nukwɔ	'boat'

RC / y / in the word-medial position :

bɔyɔtʃ	'age'	oyar	'pillow case'
ayn	'law'	uguryæ	'upstairs'
umutʃtʃya hal	'hot weather', 'summer season'		
budʒdʒya	'old man'	iyan	'it', 'this'
iziryæ	'hint'	iziryæ gɔrana	'to hint'
itya	'beloved'	sidya	'thought'
dʒimbya	'custody'	zindya	'alive'
raynnyæ	'cooked'	moyur	'peacock'
ʃuyɔr	'pig'	bizyæ	'scorpion'
deyal	'wall'		

RC / y / in the word-final position :

sɔy	'six'	æxanobbɔy	'ninety one'
ɔʃɔmɔy	'improper time'	ʃɔmɔy	'time'
aday	'collection'	biley	'cat'

These two semi-vowels / w / and / y / are also marked in Chittagong Bengali and their distributional patterns are the same e.g.

CB / w / in the word-medial position such as

ʃudʒdʒwɔ	‘sun’	ɸuwa	‘boy’
bakʃowɔ	‘box’	muktwɔ	‘pearl’

CB / y / in the word-medial position, such as,

ʃirya	‘muscle’	xuyaʃa	‘dew’
boynnya	‘flood’	beynnya	‘morning’
xuyʃʃyal	‘sugarcane’	xaluya	‘tomorrow’

CB / y / in the word-final position, such as,

nay	‘navel’	nɔy	‘nine’
sɔy	‘six’		

Implosives : As mentioned by Maniruzzaman (1994:162) in the present analysis also it is observed that Chakma spoken in Rangamati has three implosives— bilabial / b' /, dental / d' /, and velar / g' /. Examples :

RC / b' / in the word-initial position :

b'æra	‘sheep’	b'at	‘rice’
b'okti	‘devotion’	b'ɔdro	‘gentle’
b'ɔbɔlila	‘earthly life’	b'ora	‘plenty’, ‘abundant’
b'ag	‘divide’	b'aga b'agi	‘mutual settlement of share’
b'agidar	‘partner’	b'agidari	‘partnership’
b'aŋ	‘intoxication’	b'aŋa	‘broken’
b'aza	‘fried’	b'adro matʃ	‘the fifth month of the Bengali / Chakma year’
b'ap	‘steam’	b'abna	‘thought’
b'ar	‘burden’, ‘load’	b'arɔt	‘India’
b'ari	‘heavy’	b'ikku	‘Buddhist medicant’
b'idire	‘inner’	b'inno	‘separate’
b'ir	‘crowd’	b'ugol	‘geography’
b'ut	‘ghost’	b'ul	‘mistake’

b'ulana	'mislead'	b'ezal	'adulteration'
b'ezal dena	'to adulterate'	b'ot	'vote'
RC / d' / in the word-initial position :			
d'on	'wealth'	d'on g'or	'treasury'
d'onolabotʃ	'greed'	d'onnyo	'honoured', 'blessed', 'fortuned'
d'onnyobad	'thanks giving'	d'onnyobad dæna	'to thank'
d'ormo	'religion'	d'omok	'scolding'
d'ormobol	'power of morality'	d'ormo ma	'sworn mother'
d'ormoradʒa	'king of heaven'	d'ar	'sharpness'
d'ara	'shower', 'spring'	d'atu	'metal'
d'yan	'meditation'	d'udi	'loin cloth'
d'onoban	'wealthy'	d'oba	'washerman'
d'akkyæ	'push'	d'akkyæ marana	'to push'
d'akkyæ d'akki	'pushing and elbowing'		

RC / g' / in the word-initial position :

g'or	'house', 'room'	g'or giritti	'domestic duty'
g'ora	'horse'	g'onatyami	'intimacy'
g'oreg'ore	'in every house'	g'a	'wound'
g'ori	'watch'	g'or.ʃoŋ.ʃar	'household affairs'
g'adi	'outpost'	g'abarana	'perplex'
g'am	'sweat'	g'i	'ghee'
g'uŋur	'anklet'	g'in	'disgust'
g'utʃ	'bribe'	g'um	'sleep'
g'ondi	'small bell', 'button'	g'umdʒana	'to sleep'
g'un	'weevil'	g'un d'orana	'be infected or destroyed by insects'
g'um b'aŋana	'wake up'	g'udʒi	'boxing'
g'utʃ dæna	'offer a bribe'	g'ira	'enclosure'

The above implosives / b', d', g' / are also available in Chittagong Bengali, e.g.,

CB / b' / in the word-initial position :

b'ut	'ghost'	b'at	'cooked rice'
b'alb	'good'	b'okti	'devotion'
b'ɔnb'ɔn	'buzzing'	b'ul	'mistake'
b'og	'enjoyment'	b'itya	'house'

CB / d' / in the word-initial position :

d'uɔr	'gray'	d'ɔrɔr	'palpitate'
d'ɔnɔmpotti	'property'	d'ɔrmo	'religion'
d'ɔrmoɔotni	'legitimate wife'	d'an	'paddy'
d'una	'resin'	d'oɔa	'washerman'
d'unusi	'incense-pot'	d'atu	'metal'

CB / g' / in the word-initial position :

g'uj	'bribe'	g'al	'grass'
g'ol	'buttermilk'	g'i	'ghee'
g'ɔna	'event'	g'ɔa	'rub'
g'ani	'oil-mill'	g'am	'sweat'
g'utguttya	'deep'		

2.3.4 CONSONANTAL SEQUENCES

2.3.4.1 Consonants in Gemination

Gemination of twelve consonants are found in Rangamati Chakma. In this connection it can be mentioned that the remaining consonants cannot go for gemination. The following list gives a picture of the gemination of consonants of Rangamati Chakma.

/ kk, gg, tɬtɬ, dʒdʒ, tt, dd, nn, mm, ll, pp, bb, ʃʃ, ([tʃ] and [dʃ]) /

In comparison with Chittagong Bengali, the following observations can be made :

- (i) Geminate consonants are located word-medially in both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.
- (ii) In a geminate, two consonants belong to two different syllables in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

- (iii) / r / is not geminated in both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.
- (iv) Gemination of / s / is only observed in Chittagong Bengali e.g. [xɔssɔp] ‘tortoise’.
- (v) Gemination of / tʃ / is only noticed in Rangamati Chakma.

Consonants in gemination in Rangamati Chakma

Geminate consonants	Words with geminate consonants	
/ kk /	ikkine	‘now’
	b’ikke magana	‘to beg’
	dʒɔkkɔnæ	‘when’, ‘while’
	dæmakkeya	‘proud’
	rukkwɔ	‘rude’
/ gg /	b’aggo	‘luck’
/ tʃ tʃ /	dibutʃtʃyæ	‘midday’
	utʃtʃur	‘dedication’
	utʃtʃurana	‘dedicate’
	umutʃtʃya hal	‘summer’, ‘hot weather’
	hutʃtʃyæl	‘sugarcane’
/ dʒdʒ /	idʒdʒɔt	‘prestige’
	budʒdʒya	‘old man’
	udʒdʒɔl	‘bright’
	budʒdʒya aŋʃul	‘thumb’
/ tt /	uttor	‘north’, ‘answer’
	ittun	‘from here’
	mittor	‘friend’
	dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’
	hitte	‘why’
/ dd /	ɸɔddo ɸul	‘lotus’
/ nn /	bæɽannya	‘nomad’
	oyunno din	‘the other day’
	beynnyæ	‘morning’
/ mm /	dʒummo	‘hilly peasant’

	himmət	‘courage’
	hammwə	‘active’
/ ll /	bołm	‘spear’
	gælle hille ret	‘last night’
	d’uylyæ	‘sand’
/ pp /	thappər	‘claw’
/ bb /	nibban	‘complete emancipation of individual soul’
	murubbi	‘leader’
	xabbo	‘poem’
	æxanobboy	‘ninety one’
	æbbæræ	‘entirely’
/ ʃʃ /	driʃʃo	‘scene’
[tt]	laʃʃu	‘a kind of plaything’
	ækʃʃi	‘sixty one’
	b’uʃʃa	‘maize’
[dd]	laʃʃu	‘a kind of sweets’

Consonants in gemination in Chittagong Bengali

Geminate consonants	Words with geminate consonants	
/ kk /	rukkwə	‘rude’
/ gg /	b’ayggə	‘luck’
/ d ₃ d ₃ /	ləd ₃ d ₃ a	‘shame’
	ʃud ₃ d ₃ wə	‘sun’
/ tt /	xədabatta	‘conversation’
	xutta	‘dog’
	b’otti	‘full’
	ɸattər	‘rock’
	ʃo’ttwə	‘true’
/ dd /	biddyut	‘lightning’
/ nn /	ɸunnima	‘full moon night’

	boynnya	‘flood’
	beynnyæ	‘morning’
	g’inna	‘hatred’
	oyngo	‘other’
	boynno	‘wild’
/ mm /	d’əmməmət	‘creed’
/ ll /	bołłm	‘spear’
/ pp /	thappər	‘slap’
/ bb /	xaybbo	‘poem’
/ ʃʃ /	ʃoyʃʃyæ	‘mustard’
	aməʃʃyæ	‘moonless night’
/ ss /	xəssəp	‘tortoise’
/ tt /	xəttol	‘jackfruit’
	b’uttə	‘maize’
/ dd /	ləddu	‘a kind of sweets’

2.3.4.2 Consonant Clusters

Chakma spoken in Rangamati, Bangladesh is characterized with consonant clusters occurring only word-initially and word-medially.

As regards consonant clusters of Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali, the following points are important.

- (i) In both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali palatal semi-vowel / y / and bilabial semi-vowel / w / help to form consonant clusters along with other consonants e.g. [b’izyæ] ‘wet’ (RC) vs. [b’izyæ] ‘wet’ (CB).
- (ii) In both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali, it should be noted that consonant clusters occur restrictedly in word-initial and medial positions and not in word-final positions.
- (iii) Last of all, it can be said that only biconsonantal clusters are available in both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.

Consonant clusters in Rangamati Chakma (on the basis of my data)

Word-initial consonant clusters

Fricative + Rolled

<u>s</u> rot	'current'	φrod ₃ aφoti	'butterfly'
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Stop + Rolled

<u>dr</u> ætʃ	'dress'	<u>dr</u> iʃʃo	'scene'
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Word-medial consonant clusters

Affricate + Semi-vowel

omabotʃʃyæ	'moonless night'	bud ₃ d ₃ ya aŋul	'thumb'
red ₃ d ₃ yæ	'kingdom'	umutʃʃya hal	'summer'
ʃud ₃ d ₃ wɔ	'sun'		

Stop + Semi-vowel

ʃidyæ	'wrinkle'	ʃudwɔ	'cotton'
rubwɔ	'silver'	itya	'beloved'
d ₃ imbya	'custody'	zindyā	'alive'
dæmak ₃ ya	'proud'	ʃikyæ	'spiteful', 'malicious'
thigyæ	'lasting'	ʃiddwɔ	'boiled'
nukwɔ	'boat'		

Rolled + Semi-vowel

d ₃ urwɔ	'cold'	murwɔ	'hill'
iziryæ	'hint'	iziryæ gorana	'to hint'
saryæ	'separation'	uguryæ	'upstairs'

Lateral + Semi-vowel

beyllyæ	'afternoon'	mulwɔ	'raddish'
ʃulwɔ	'sixteen'		

Fricative + Semi-vowel

barizyæ	'flood'	bizyæ	'scorpion'
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Nasal + Semi-vowel

beynnyæ	'evening'	bærannya	'nomad'
laŋyæ	'boyfriend', 'paramour'		
ʃugunwɔ	'dry'	raynnyæ	'cooked'

Stop + Rolled

xat mistri 'carpenter'

Consonant clusters in Chittagong Bengali (on the basis of my data).

Word-initial consonant clusters**Fricative + Rolled**

ɸroyozɔn 'need' ɸriyɔ 'beloved'

Stop + Rolled

gram 'village' briʃi 'rain'

Word-medial consonant clusters**Affricate + Semi-vowel**

ʃudʒdʒwɔ 'sun'

Stop + Semi-vowel

moydyæ 'flour' muktwɔ 'pearl'

duyrgya 'noon'

Rolled + Semi-vowel

ʃrya 'muscle'

Lateral + Semi-vowel

sulya 'oven' mulya 'raddish'

Fricative + Semi-vowel

dɔrɔʒya 'door' biʃya 'scorpion'

Nasal + Semi-vowel

boynnya 'flood' ʃinya 'trumpet'

binya 'veena'

Stop + Rolled

xat mistri 'carpenter'

Retroflex + Semi-vowel

mudʈya 'fist'

2.3.5 SYLLABIC STRUCTURES

As my data shows, Rangamati Chakma manifests eight syllabic structures. Rangamati Chakma permits sound segments not more than four for making up a syllable. Rangamati Chakma allows the structure vv. With respect to the formation of the syllable margin, it can be said that the following are traced to constitute the above : (i) two consonants, (2) one consonant only, (3) no consonant at all.

Like Rangamati Chakma, syllables of different canonical shapes prevail in Chittagong Bengali. It is worth noting that a single vowel can form a syllable in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples of syllabic structures of Rangamati Chakma are cited below :

v, cv, vc, cvc, ccv, vcc, ccvc and cvcc.

Syllabic structures in Rangamati Chakma (the first syllable contains the particular structure) :

Canonical shapes	Examples with glosses	
v	aga	'tip'
	izor	'platform of a typical Chakma house'
	ilij	'a kind of fish'
	iyan	'it', 'this'
	iman	'conscience'
	iziryæ	'hint'
	egot	'sudden'
	æra	'flesh'
	umi	'illiterate'
	ugun	'louse'
	uguryæ	'upstairs'
	ubot	'reversed'
	umor	'age'
	uro	'shed', 'den'
	od ₃ on	'weight'
	ɔzɔl	'high'
	ɔfug	'disease'

၁၂ur	'demon'
၁၂ot	'wicked'
၁za	'pestle of a husking pedal'
၁sol	'immovable', 'paralysis'
၁golana	'vomit'
၁xal	'bad season'
၁ṭobitro	'impure'
၁numan	'guess'
၁lṭṭaxar	'ornament'
၁၂oti	'unchaste'
agatʃ	'sky'
alada	'separate'
axar	'form'
aṭul	'finger'
agṭṭ	'yes'
azu	'grandfather'
ada	'ginger'
adam	'village'
adalṭ	'court'
aday	'collection'
anṇṇṇ	'delight'
adi	'prior', 'first'
abad	'cultivated land'
abedṇ	'petition'
alu	'potato'
amṇ	'period'
uburana	'to uproot'
elaxa	'area'
æxaxi	'eightyone'
ægarṇ	'eleven'
manutʃ	'man'
thæṇja	'rupee'

cv

dogin	‘south’
ʃigon	‘little’
nilem	‘auction’
nidiban	‘moralist’
φiriŋ	‘grasshopper’
mittor	‘friend’
d ₃ ilik	‘brightness’
d ₃ idi	‘adamant’
sili	‘bark’
bini	‘sweet’
thuguri	‘chin’
ʃigi	‘male rat’
guli	‘bullet’
xoti	‘loss’
xobi	‘poet’
nirog	‘free from disease’
dæmak	‘gravity’
dæbatta	‘sacred’, ‘holy’
dæratʃ	‘drawer’
bæɾana	‘walk’
ɪgæ	‘with’
d ₃ ærendi	‘at last’
gud ₃ ona	‘insert’
gud ₃ ob	‘rumour’
murubbi	‘leader’
bid ₃ u	‘the Chakma national festival’
φizu	‘paternal great grandfather’
nanu	‘grandmother’
hudu	‘where’
ʃulwo	‘sixteen’
bodabudi	‘wrestling’
thobɔʃi	‘hermit’

gɔnɔni	'calculation'
dæna	'debt'
badam	'groundnut'
labana	'jump'
xɔbal	'forehead'
begar	'unpaid workers'
dʒibanu	'germ'
ɸibir ɸibir gori	'slowly'
mada	'head'
ɸudwɔ	'point'
ɸadana	'send'
ʃidu	'there'
lo	'blood'
salak	'clever'
gudom	'godown'
ʃogun	'vulture'
ʃarosi	'tongs'
buzol	'earthquake'
ræzɔm	'silk'
bizi	'seed'
bɔzɔŋ	'bad'
zɔda	'shoe'
milyæ	'girl'
mulɪ	'yeast for making wine'
humɔɾ	'potter'
na	'not'
naɾi	'pulse'
ɸani	'water'
ʃumi	'bean'
lɔna	'take'
haru	'bangle'

vc	hurwə	'cock'
	luwə	'iron'
	deyal	'wall'
	ʃuyər	'pig'
	indi	'here'
	el	'green'
	æk	'one'
	ækʃə	'one hundred'
	um	'heat'
	uʃkani	'provoke'
	utʃəb	'festival'
	urgo	'flying'
	ostad	'master'
	əstrə	'weapon'
	am	'mango'
	el	'green'
	indrə	'the king of heaven'
cvc	sit	'heart'
	sin	'identity', 'mark'
	zindya	'alive'
	bil	'lake'
	dʒær	'back'
	dæɾɡun	'one and a half'
	bæn	'loom'
	mæg	'cloud'
	ɡun	'quality'
	ɡulmal	'noise'
	ɡulɡal	'plump'
	dʒun	'moon'
	mul	'root'
	rub	'beauty'
	sok	'eye'

ccv

ʃap	‘snake’
map	‘pardon’, ‘measure’
thap	‘heat’
dip	‘island’
thep	‘curved’
dʒɔb	‘barley’
ʃib	‘the lord Shiva’
lamba	‘long’
rit	‘season’
gat	‘cave’
mət	‘opinion’
ʃud	‘interest’
bad	‘rejected’
rag	‘anger’
ɸug	‘worm’
buk	‘chest’
gal	‘cheek’
gul	‘round’
gaŋ	‘river’
gɔm	‘wheat’
nim	‘neem’
matʃ	‘month’
muy	‘I’
mal	‘goods’
mɔn	‘mind’
nun	‘salt’
ban	‘flood’
san	‘moon’
sulwɔ	‘oven’
hulwɔ	‘open’
indrɔ	‘the king of heaven’
thigyæ	‘lasting’

saryæ	'separation'
iziryæ	'hint'
ɔɔbitrɔ	'impure'
ʃugunwɔ	'dry'
hurwɔ	'cock'
ʃudwɔ	'cotton'
nukwɔ	'boat'
zindya	'alive'
bizya	'scorpion'

The last syllables of the above words contain the ccv structure.

vcc	oynnyɔ	'other'
ccvc	ɔrɔttekdin	'everyday'
	byastɔ	'busy'
cvcc	boynnyɔ	'wild'

As per my data the following syllable structures are also found in Chittagong Bengali :
v, cv, vc, cvc, ccv, vcc, ccvc and cvcc.

Syllabic structures in Chittagong Bengali :

Canonical shapes	Examples with glosses	
v	ibya	'this'
	ilif	'a kind of fish'
	æxa	'alone'
	ælaxa	'area'
	ɔnæk	'enough'
	uguryæ	'upstairs'
	agæ	'before'
	alu	'potato'
	ada	'ginger'
	adalot	'court'
	ɔʃanti	'want of peace'
	ɔnuman	'guess'
	ɔxal	'bad season'

cv

ɔsɔl	'immovable'
ɔniʃtɔ	'harm'
ɔbak	'astonished'
doyin	'south'
zilik	'brightness'
niti	'principle'
xobi	'poet'
deʃi	'homemade', 'countrymade'
bafi	'stale'
xoti	'loss'
bexar	'unemployed'
begar	'unpaid worker'
xɔ̃dɛ	'where'
dæmak	'vanity'
dæbatta	'sacred heart or soul'
ɸɔræ	'afterward'
dʒuta	'shoe'
baba	'father'
neta	'leader'
b'alɔ	'good'
xodal	'shovel'
g'uɽi	'kite'
d'atu	'metal'
xarap	'bad'
golap	'rose'
badam	'groundnut'
banɔr	'monkey'
boba	'dumb'
tama	'copper'
tamak	'tobacco'
bilafita	'luxury'

vc

zəgət	'universe'
dæna	'debt'
doɾi	'rope'
naɾk	'drama'
guli	'bullet'
gərəm	'hot'
ʃobud ₃	'green'
ɬali	'tile'
ɸaɬi	'mat'
soqo	'little'
xonuy	'elbow'
maxon	'butter'
ʃona	'gold'
gənr	'calculation'
nilam	'auction'
badur	'bat'
bala	'bangle'
salak	'clever'
lebu	'lemon'
rupa	'silver'
ɸani	'water'
bataɬ	'wing'
zadu	'charm'
æk	'one'
ækɬo	'one hundred'
aste	'slowly'
am	'mango'
osthi	'bone'
ol	'an edible stem'
ur	'on'
ostro	'weapon'
ar	'also'
alɬiyæ	'lazy'

cvc	beymani	'treachery'
	møn	'mind'
	ʃundər	'beautiful'
	zər	'rain'
	bon	'sister'
	sor	'thief'
	xintu	'but'
	b'ut	'ghost'
	ɸap	'sin'
	ʃap	'snake'
	dip	'island'
	muk	'face'
	buk	'heart'
	rag	'anger'
	gas	'tree'
	gol	'circle'
	gun	'quality'
	ʈək	'sour'
	ʈək	'baldness'
	ʈol	'dimple'
	ɸaʈ	'jute'
	mul	'root'
	nay	'navel'
	nak	'nose'
	xan	'ear'
	ɸoŋgu	'crippled'
	rɔʃ	'juice'
	bæŋ	'frog'
	ʃiŋ	'horn'
	ron	'garlic'
	laɸ	'jump'
	zal	'net'
	baz	'thunderbolt'

	xol	'lap'
	xar	'whose'
	hal	'plough'
	hap	'snake'
	d'an	'paddy'
ccv	hoyldyæ	'yellow'
	ʃud ₃ d ₃ wə	'sun'
	muktwo	'pearl'
	boynnya	'flood'

The last syllables of the above words have the ccv structure.

ccv	oʔnno	'other'
cvcc	b'ayggə	'luck'
	xuyʃʃyal	'sugarcane'
	mayrɸit	'quarrel'
	boynnya	'flood'
	beynnya	'morning'
ccvc	ɸrɔttekdin	'everyday'

2.4.0 COMPARISON OF KOLKATA CHAKMA AND RANGAMATI CHAKMA

This section offers the phonological comparison of Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. The Chakmas have been living in Kolkata and its adjoining areas for many years. This section takes note of the phonological changes taking place in this form of Chakma in comparison with the form of Chakma spoken by the Chakmas in Rangamati, CHT (Bangladesh) who are considered their reference group. Notable points of the above comparison are listed below.

- 1) Kolkata Chakma retains all the seven vowels used by the Chakmas of Rangamati, Bangladesh.
- 2) Nasalisation is not phonemic in Rangamati Chakma. But nasalisation of vowels is a growing tendency in Kolkata Chakma.
- 3) In respect of consonants, it is noticed that implosives are extensively used in Rangamati Chakma, but these implosives / b', d', g' / change to their corresponding voiced aspirated stops / bh, dh, gh / respectively in Kolkata Chakma. Examples are given below :

RC	KC	Glosses
[b'ul]	[bhul]	'mistake'
[b'aza]	[bhaza]	'fried'
[b'at]	[bhat]	'rice'
[b'ari dol]	[bhari dol]	'very good'
[b'ag]	[bhag]	'portion'
[b'aʃa]	[bhaʃa]	'language'
[d'udi]	[dhudi]	'dhoti'
[d'an]	[dhan]	'rice'
[d'onu]	[dhonu]	'bow'
[g'am]	[gham]	'wheat'
[g'or]	[ghor]	'home'
[g'um]	[ghum]	'sleep'

- 4) Unlike Rangamati Chakma the glottal stop / ʔ / is not retained in Kolkata Chakma.

At times, it is replaced by the glottal fricative / h /. Examples :

RC	KC	Glosses
[ʔi ŋʃya]	[hiŋsya]	'jealousy'
[ʔoy]	[hoy]	'is'
[ʔazar]	[hazar]	'thousand'
[ʔar]	[har]	'necklace'
[ʔolot]	[holot]	'turmeric'

- 5) Unlike Rangamati Chakma, the use of the dental [s] is more frequent than the palato-alveolar [ʃ] in Kolkata Chakma. Examples :

RC	KC	Glosses
[diʃapta]	[disapta]	'fortnight'
[ʃɔʃta]	[sɔsta]	'cheap'
[ʃuburi]	[suburi]	'betelnut'
[ʃottur]	[sottur]	'enemy'

- 6) Though in Rangamati Chakma [x] is extensively used, it is noticed that the substitution of the above velar voiceless fricative by the velar voiceless plosive [k] in Kolkata Chakma is underway e.g.

RC	KC	Glosses
[xəmɔla]	[kəmɔla]	'orange'
[dərɔar]	[dərkar]	'need'
[xəmbəl]	[kəmbəl]	'blanket'
[xarbar]	[karbar]	'business'
[xudum]	[kudum]	'relative'
[xəlɔm]	[kəlɔm]	'pen'
[xərɔm ɸug]	[kərɔm ɸug]	'bug'

- 7) Similarly, there is a growing tendency in Kolkata Chakma to replace [ɸ] by [p],
e.g.,

RC	KC	Glosses
[ɸirit]	[pirit]	'love'
[ɸoŋgu]	[poŋgu]	'crippled'
[ɸorɕu]	[porsu]	'the day after tomorrow'

- 8) A tendency is noticed in the Chakma speech of Kolkata to replace / wɔ / of Rangamati Chakma by / o /. Examples :

RC	KC	Glosses
[murwɔ]	[muro]	'mountain'
[buɾwɔ xal]	[buɾo xal]	'old age'
[ʃudwɔ]	[sudo]	'cotton'
[dɜurwɔ]	[dɜuro]	'cold'
[adammwɔ]	[adammo]	'rural'

- 9) / yæ / of Rangamati Chakma is being gradually changed to / e / or / æ / in Kolkata Chakma. Examples :

RC	KC	Glosses
[murollyæ]	[murolle / murollæ]	'hilly'
[beylyæ]	[beylle / beyllæ]	'evening'
[milyæ]	[mile / milæ]	'woman'
[ʃidyæ]	[side / sidæ]	'wrinkle'
[nundɜyæ]	[nundɜe / nundɜæ]	'salty'

CHAPTER – 3

Morphology

3.1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the morphological structure of Kolkata Chakma. In addition, a very brief sketch of the morphological structure of Rangamati Chakma is also presented here for finding out the morphological changes occurring in Chakma spoken in and around Kolkata. While dealing with the morphology of Rangamati Chakma, some morphological features of Chittagong Bengali have also been studied as it is said that there exist similarities between these two speeches. In this connection it is to be mentioned that by morphology, the inflectional morphology is mainly meant here. Attempts have also been made to present the pronominal paradigms and numerals as well.

3.2.0 MORPHOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF KOLKATA CHAKMA

3.2.1 NOMINAL INFLECTIONS

In Kolkata Chakma, nouns and pronouns are inflected for case and number. The nouns are marked by other two parameters also. These are animacy and definiteness. And for pronouns the additional parameters are person and status. In Kolkata Chakma, there is no grammatical gender.

3.2.1.1 Cases and Case Markers

As regards cases, it is seen in Kolkata Chakma, that suffixes as case inflections are added to the noun stem and post positions, too, function as case markers. In Kolkata Chakma there are six cases. These are the following : nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. In addition to the case markers, the instrumental, uses a post position also, and the ablative uses a post position only. The case markers and the post positions are presented below :

Nominative	:	/ -ϕ / , / -e / or / -ye /
Accusative	:	/ -ϕ / , / -ore / or / -re /
Instrumental	:	/ -e / or / -æ / or / -y / , / -ot / , / -di / , / gori / (Post position)
Ablative	:	/ tun / (Post position)
Locative	:	/ -ye / , / -ot / or / -t / , / -e /
Genitive	:	/ -or / or / -r /

Examples :

Nominative :

(i) There is no specific marker for nominative e.g.

goru	gari	thane	'The bullock draws a cart'
(bullock)	(cart)	(draw-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	
goru	gat	hay	'The cow eats grass'
(cow)	(grass)	(eat-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	

(ii) Nominative is realized as / -e / which freely varies with / -ye /.

rame/ye	ey	hɔdahan	hoy	'Ram says this word'
(Ram-nom.)	(this)	(word)	(say-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	
bone/ye	bone/ye	hoydɔdɔe	gɔron	'Two sisters are quarrelling'
(Sister-nom.)	(sister-nom.)	(quarrel)	(do-pre.impf.3rd.pl.)	

Accusative :

(i) In some sentences there is no overt case marking i.e. '-zero' case ending is attached to the inanimate noun e.g.

rani	gan	gay	'Rani sings'
(Rani)	(song)	(sing-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	
thæ	sidi	lægar	'He is writing a letter'
(he)	(letter)	(write-pre.impf.3rd.sg.)	

(ii) Accusative is also expressed by using / -ore / or / -re / to the animate nouns. These two case markers are phonologically conditioned. The former is used after the word with consonant ending and the latter is used after the word with vowel ending.

sɔmadɔdɔegun ² re	mone raget	'Remember (your) friends'
(friends-acc.)	([Please] remember- ² ut.imp.non.hon.)	
binare	dak	'Call Bina'
(Bina-acc.)	(call-pre.imp.non.hon.)	

Instrumental :

(i) Instrumental is expressed by the case endings /-e/ or /-æ/ and /-y/. /-e/ and /-æ/ are two free variants. /e/ or /-æ/ is used after ^aword ending in a consonant and /-y/ after a word ending in a vowel i.e. they are phonologically conditioned.

meghe / meghæ tʃerohatte dagi ziyegoy 'The sky is covered with clouds'
(clouds-instr.) (all sides) (covered)
thæŋjay hi na hoy
(money-instr.) (what) (can't) (be made)
'Money can bring / buy everything' / 'Money makes everything'

(ii) Instrumental is also indicated by /-ot/ e.g.

badʒot gori dʒæbɔŋ 'We shall go by bus'
(bus-instr.) (by) (go-fut.ind.1st.pl.)

(iii) /-di/ is used in instrumental case e.g.

thara xəlbəndi lægən 'They write with a pen'
(pen-instr.)
(they) (with pen) (write-pre.ind.3rd.pl.)

(iv) Instrumental is also indicated by the postposition / gori /.

badʒot gori dʒæbɔŋ 'We shall go by bus'
(bus-instr.) (by) (go-fut.ind.1st.pl.)

Ablative :

(i) Ablative case is indicated by the post position 'tun'. For the formation of the ablative case, the syntactical pattern is : animate or inanimate noun with genitive suffix + tun – a post position. When the genitive suffix is added to the noun, regressive assimilation takes place. It is a frequent feature in Kolkata Chakma.

agadʒottun huwə ɸore 'Dew-drops fall from the sky'
agatʃ-gen. + tun
(from the sky) (dew-drops) (fall-Pre.ind.3rd pl.)
sanattun miʃi hoy
sana-gen. + tun
(from casein) (sweet-meats) (are made)
'Sweet-meates are made from casein'

Locative :

(i) Locative is expressed by the use of / -ye /.

d₃arhaylye huwə φoræ 'Dew-drops fall in the winter'
d₃arhal + ye
(in the winter) (dew-drops) (fall-pre.ind.3rd.sg)

(ii) Locative is also marked by / -ət / or / -t /. These two are phonologically conditioned.

If a word ends in a consonant / -ət / is used and if a word ends in a vowel / -t / is used.

redət nə helitʃ 'Don't play at night'
(night-loc.) (don't) (play-fut.imp.non.hon.)
thæ baŋlat gəm 'He is good in Bengali'
(he) (Bengali-loc.) (good)

(iii) Locative case is also realized as / -e /

thuy mæŋgəlbare eytʃ 'Come on Tuesday'
(you) (Tuesday-loc.) ([Please] come-fut.imp.)

Genitive :

Genitive suffix is / -ər / or / -ə /. These two are phonologically conditioned. The former is used after a consonant and the latter after a vowel.

baganər φulun 'Flowers of garden'
(garden-gen.) (flowers)
sanar miʃti 'Sweet-meats of casein'
(casein-gen.) (sweet-meats)

3.2.1.2 Number

In Kolkata Chakma, nouns and pronouns are inflected for two numbers i.e. singular and plural. Nouns in singular are unmarked and nouns in plural are overtly marked. It is noticed from the present study that the plural markers are / -un /, / -gun /, / -ani /, / -gani /, / -dagi /, and / -dayi /.

Use of the Plural Marker — / -un /

Singular		Plural	
ron	'garlic'	ronun	'garlics'
hugur	'dog'	hugurun	'dogs'
hogil	'cuckoo'	hogilun	'cuckoos'
bæŋ	'frog'	bæŋun	'frogs'

badur	'bat'	badurun	'bats'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋulun	'fingers'
din	'day'	dinun	'days'
sāṛ	'ox'	sāṛun	'oxen'
humor	'crocodile'	humorun	'crocodiles'
horin	'deer'	horinun	'deer'
siyel	'fox'	siyelun	'foxes'
ḡiṛiṇ	'grasshopper'	ḡiṛiṇun	'grasshoppers'
siṇ	'horn'	siṇun	'horns'
bandor	'monkey'	bandorun	'monkeys'
suyor	'pig'	suyorun	'pigs'
dur	'tortoise'	durun	'tortoises'
hil	'latch'	hilun	'latches'
thom	'pillar'	thomun	'pillars'
madur	'mat'	madurun	'mats'
ḡattor	'stone'	ḡattorun	'stones'
aḡel	'apple'	aḡelun	'apples'
narihul	'cocoanut'	narihulun	'cocoanuts'
hanḡul	'ear-ring'	hanḡulun	'ear-rings'

Use of the Plural Marker — / -gun /

Singular		Plural	
boda	'egg'	bodagun	'eggs'
guro	'child'	gurogun	'children'
gabud ₃ d ₃ e	'young man'	gabud ₃ d ₃ egun	'youngmen'
somudro	'sea'	somudrogun	'seas'
thara	'star'	tharagun	'stars'
ḡibiryæ	'ant'	ḡibiryægun	'ants'
hurosə	'chicken'	hurosogun	'chickens'
ghora	'horse'	ghoragun	'horses'
bhæra	'lamb'	bhæragun	'lambs'
neḡali	'the Nepali man'	neḡaligun	'the Nepali men'
ḡrod ₃ aḡoti	'butterfly'	ḡrod ₃ aḡotigun	'butterflies'

haŋara	‘crab’	haŋaragun	‘crabs’
goru	‘cow’	gorugun	‘cows’
hɔba	‘crow’	hɔbagun	‘crows’
mɔza	‘mosquito’	mɔzagun	‘mosquitoes’
φæza	‘owl’	φæzagun	‘owls’
madi	‘floor’	madigun	‘floors’
sabi	‘key’	sabigun	‘keys’
hɔla	‘plaintain’	hɔlagun	‘plaintains’
alu	‘potato’	alugun	‘potatoes’
haru	‘bangle’	harugun	‘bangles’
xata	‘exercise book’	xatagun	‘exercise books’
bhante	‘monk’	bhantəgun	‘monks’
sina	‘the Chinese man’	sinagun	‘the Chinese men’

Use of the Plural Marker — / -ani /

Singular		Plural	
han	‘ear’	hanani	‘ears’
muk	‘face’	mukkani	‘faces’
thæŋ	‘leg’	thæŋani	‘legs’
mæk	‘cloud’	mækkani	‘clouds’
buy	‘land’	buyani	‘lands’
seyar	‘chair’	seyarani	‘chairs’
ghor	‘room’	ghorani	‘rooms’
zar	‘bush’	zarani	‘bushes’
hat	‘hand’	hattani	‘hands’
habor	‘saree’	haborani	‘sarees’
zal / dʒal	‘net’	dʒalani / zalani	‘nets’

Use of the Plural Marker — / -gani /

Singular		Plural	
φada	‘leaf’	φadagani	‘leaves’
xaru	‘bangle’	xarugani	‘bangles’
ludi	‘creeper’	ludigani	‘creepers’

The plural suffixes / -dagi / and / -dayi / are used with the proper nouns. These two are free variants e.g.

ramdagi ~ ramdayi	'Ram and others'
bimɔɪdagi ~ bimɔɪdayi	'Bimal and others'
binadagi ~ binadayi	'Bina and others'
mimidagi ~ mimidayi	'Mimi and others'

It is noticed from the present observation that in many cases the Chakma speakers prefer / -un / to / -gun /. Specifically, if the nouns end in the voiceless consonant like / k, tʃ, t, p /, then / -un / is added. In addition to that, it is found that the final consonant of the noun is geminated or doubled. Examples are the following :

Singular		Plural	
nək	'nail'	nəkkun	'nails'
gatʃ	'tree'	gatʃtʃun	'trees'
ret	'night'	rettun	'nights'
hat	'hand'	hattun	'hands'
thut	'lip'	thuttun	'lips'
nak	'nose'	nakkun	'noses'
φīyætʃ	'onion'	φīyætʃtʃun	'onions'
het	'elephant'	hettun	'elephants'
matʃ	'fish'	matʃtʃun	'fishes'
thədæk	'parrot'	thədækkun	'parrots'
magərək	'spider'	magərəkkun	'spiders'

The nouns ending in / n, r, l, ŋ / do not follow the above rule. Some examples are presented in the following list :

Singular		Plural	
ron	'garlic'	ronun	'garlics'
hugur	'dog'	hugurun	'dogs'
hogil	'cuckoo'	hogilun	'cuckoos'
bæŋ	'frog'	bæŋun	'frogs'
badur	'bat'	badurun	'bats'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋulun	'fingers'

din	‘day’	dinun	‘days’
sãṛ	‘ox’	sãṛun	‘oxen’
humor	‘crocodile’	humorun	‘crocodiles’
horin	‘deer’	horinun	‘deer’
siyel	‘fox’	siyelun	‘foxes’
ḫiṛiṇ	‘grasshopper’	ḫiṛiṇun	‘grasshoppers’
siṇ	‘horn’	siṇun	‘horns’
bandor	‘monkey’	bandorun	‘monkeys’
suyor	‘pig’	suyorun	‘pigs’
dur	‘tortoise’	durun	‘tortoises’
hil	‘latch’	hilun	‘latches’
thom	‘pillar’	thomun	‘pillars’
madur	‘mat’	madurun	‘mats’
ḫattor	‘stone’	ḫattorun	‘stones’
aḫel	‘apple’	aḫelun	‘apples’
narihul	‘cocoanut’	narihulun	‘cocoanuts’
hanḫul	‘ear-ring’	hanḫulun	‘ear-rings’
sogun	‘vulture’	sogunun	‘vultures’

To indicate plurality, numeral adjectives and adjectives of quantity are used.

bæk	satrōgun	‘All the students’
quantitative adjective	noun [satrō] + plural marker [-gun]	
(all)	(the students)	
bæk	manutjun	‘All the people’
quantitative adjective	noun [manutj] + plural marker [-un]	
(all)	(the people)	
bæk	somad ₃ d ₃ egun	‘All the students’
quantitative adjective	noun [somad ₃ d ₃ e] + plural marker [-gun]	
(all)	(the students)	
bæk	gorippun	‘All the poor people’
quantitative adjective	noun [gorip] + plural marker [-un]	
(all)	(the poor people)	

bæk	φrod ₃ agun	‘All the subjects’
quantitative adjective	noun [φrod ₃ a] + plural number [-gun]	
(all)	(the subjects)	
ukkwə	milyæ	‘One girl’
numeral adjective	noun	
(one)	(girl)	
dibeyæ	milyæ	‘Two girls’
numeral adjective	noun	
(two)	(girl)	
thinnwə	milyæ	‘Three girls’
numeral adjective	noun	
(three)	(girl)	
φātʃtʃo	milyæ	‘Five girls’
numeral adjective	noun	
(five)	(girl)	
sattwə	milyæ	‘Seven girls’
numeral adjective	noun	
(seven)	(girl)	
dəʃtʃwə	milyæ	‘Ten girls’
numeral adjective	noun	
(ten)	(girl)	
hizu	manutʃ	‘Some-men’
quantitative adjective	noun	
(some)	(man)	
hizu	φuwə	‘Some boys’
quantitative adjective	noun	
(some)	(boy)	
/ bækkun / ‘all’ is used with the pronoun and is placed after it to mark plurality.		
ami	bækkun	‘All of us’
(we)	(all)	
thumi	bækkun	‘All of you’
(you)	(all)	
thara	bækkun	‘All of them’
(they)	(all)	

3.2.1.3 Animacy

Suffixes like / -buwə / and / -un / or / -gun / are added to both animate and inanimate nouns in singular and plural respectively e.g. / milyəbuwə / 'the girl', / sadibuwə / 'the umbrella', / bədagun / 'eggs', / ɸuwəgun / 'the boys', / ɸəlun / 'fruits', / narihulun / 'cocoanuts' etc. But the plural suffix / -ani / or / -gani / is added to inanimate nouns only e.g. / habərani / 'cloths', / ɸadagani / 'leaves', / ghərani / 'houses' etc.

3.2.1.4 Definiteness

To indicate definiteness, the following suffixes are used in Kolkata Chakma :

(i) / -buwə / is used after vowels, / r /, / ɽ / and / y / e.g.

milyəbuwə	'the girl'	hugurbuwə	'the dog'
sadibuwə	'the umbrella'	gorubuwə	'the cow'
gurbuwə	'the child'	mondirbuwə	'the temple'
montribuwə	'the minister'	sigaribuwə	'the hunter'
asamibuwə	'the criminal'	sobibuwə	'the picture'
ɸuwəbuwə	'the child'	indurbuwə	'the rat'
surbuwə	'the thief'	dʒanalabuwə	'the window'
bileybuwə	'the cat'	boybuwə	'the book'
moyurbuwə	'the peacock'	ɸattərbuwə	'the stone'
səgəɸabuwə	'the squirrel'	ladibuwə	'the stick'
durbuwə	'the tortoise'		

(ii) / -uwə / is used after consonants except / r / or / ɽ / e.g.

gəɽtɽuwə	'the tree'	dʒinitɽuwə	'the thing'
ɸennuwə	'the pen'	ɸolluwə	'the fruit'
bəlluwə	'the ball'	bæŋɽuwə	'the frog'
həbɽmmuwə	'the pen'		

(iii) / -yan / is also used after inanimate nouns ending in vowels e.g.

ɸittimiyan	'the earth'	həɸayan	'the word'
xəɸayan	'the food'	dʒəɸayan	'the place'
dəɸəɸəɸayan	'the door'	gəɸiyan	'the car'
suriyan	'the knife'	rəɸayan	'the road'

(iv) / -an / is added to inanimate nouns ending in consonants e.g.

haman	'the work'	thonan	'the curry'
huṭolan	'the axe'	haboran	'the saree'
ghoran	'the house'	soriran	'the body'

To indicate indefiniteness, no suffix is added to the noun.

3.2.1.5 Person

Pronouns of Kolkata Chakma have person distinctions. Persons are three in number: first person, second person and third person.

3.2.1.6 Status

The Honorific Pronoun

Chakma of Kolkata possesses only two sets of second person pronouns / thuy / and / thumi /. The first term is used in less honorific sense. The second term is used to indicate respect for the person being addressed.

Surprisingly the form / thumi / is used for 'you' to denote both singularity and plurality.

		Singular	Plural
First Person		muy	ami
Second Person	Ordinary	thuy	thumi
	Familiar	thuy	thumi
	Honorific	thumi	thumi
Third Person		thæ	thara

3.2.2 PRONOUNS

In Kolkata variety of Chakma, pronouns are of six types and these are the following:

- (a) Personal Pronouns
- (b) Demonstrative Pronouns
- (c) Interrogative Pronouns
- (d) Relative Pronouns
- (e) Indefinite Pronouns
- (f) Reflexive Pronouns

The above sub-classes of pronouns are characterized by person, number, and case. Numbers are of two types: Singular and Plural. Dual number is absent. Gender does not affect the formation of the third person pronouns for example, the pronominal form / thæ / is used for both the masculine and the feminine genders.

(a) Personal Pronouns

The list of the personal pronouns in singular and plural numbers is given below. In each number the forms demonstrate three case forms i.e. nominative, accusative and genitive.

	Person	Pronoun
Singular Number	I	Nominative – muy ‘I’ ; Accusative – mərə / mərə ‘me’ ; Genitive – mər / mə ‘my’, ‘mine’.
	II	Nominative – thuy ‘you-non. hon.’, thumi ‘you-hon.’ ; Accusative – thore / thorə ‘you-non-hon.’, thomare / thomarə ‘you-hon.’ ; Genitive – tho / thər ‘your, yours-non. hon.’, thoma ‘your, yours-hon.’
	III	Nominative – the / thə ‘he / she-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – thare / tharə ‘him / her-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – thare / tharə ‘him / her, both hon. and non-hon.’
Plural Number	I	Nominative – ami ‘we’ ; Accusative – amare / amarə ‘us’ ; Genitive – amar / ama ‘our, ours’
	II	Nominative – thumi ‘you-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – thomare / thomarə ‘you-hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – thoma / thomar ‘your, yours-both hon. and non-hon.’
	III	Nominative – thara ‘they-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – tharare / thararə ‘them-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – tharar / thara ‘their, theirs, both hon. and non-hon.’

A few examples are given below :

(22) thæ æbo ‘He will come’

(he) (come–fut.ind.3rd.sg.)

(23) muy thare hæbatte hom ‘I will ask him to eat’

(I) (him) (eat–inf.) (ask–fut.ind. 1st.sg.)

In this connection it is to be noted that possessive pronouns function as both attributive and predicative. For example,

(24) mər/mə bon banlat gom ‘My sister is good in Bengali

(my) (sister) (in Bengali)(good)

(25) sobibuwo mə / mər ‘The picture is mine’

(the picture) (mine)

In the sentence (24) it is attributive and in the sentence (25) it is predicative.

(b) Demonstrative Pronouns

Chakma demonstrative pronouns (according to my data) are :

Singular	Plural
iba/ibyæ, iyan/iyen 'this'	igun, iyani, iyun, 'these'
siyan/siyen, oyan, sibya 'that'	siyun/sigun, oyani 'those'

The meanings of the demonstrative pronouns have either 'near' references or 'distant' references and in Kolkata Chakma these are the following :

<u>'Near' references or 'near' demonstrative</u>	<u>'Distant' references or 'far' demonstrative</u>
iba / ibyæ, iyan / iyen 'this'	siyan / siyen, oyan, sibya 'that'
iyani, iyun, igun 'these'	siyun / sigun, oyani 'those'

The demonstrative pronouns are divided into two categories (i) animate and (ii) inanimate

- (i) ethe 'this person', thæ 'that person', ethara 'these persons', thara 'those persons'
- (ii) iba / ibyæ, iyan / iyen 'this', iyani, iyun, igun, 'these', siyan / siyen, oyan, sibya 'that', siyun / sigun, oyani 'those'

Animate demonstrative pronouns are limited in number.

(c) Interrogative Pronouns

The following are the Chakma interrogative pronouns (according to my data) :

Singular	Plural
honna 'who'	hara 'who'
har 'whose'	harα 'whose'
haræ 'whom'	haræ haræ 'whom'
hi 'what'	hi hi 'what'
honan, hunnu 'which'	hugun, hunnu hunnu, hubu hubu, huban huban 'which'

Like personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns too have case distinctions as in the following :

Pronoun	Case	Example
honna	Nominative	(26) iyan thoræ honna hoye (this) (to you) (what) (tell-past.ind.3rd.sg.) 'who told you this?'
hara	Nominative	(27) hara thoræ oyan hoye (who) (to you) (that) (tell-past.ind.3rd.pl.) 'who told you that?'
hi	Accusative	(28) iyan hi 'what is this?' (this) (what)
	Accusative	(29) thui hi sat (you) (what) (want-pre.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) 'what do you want?'
hunnu hunnu/ huban huban/ hi hi	Accusative	(30) thuy hunnu hunnu/huban huban/hi hi (you) (which) dol dægot (good) (see-pre.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) 'which (pl.) do you like?'
haræ	Accusative	(31) thuy haræ hoyot (you) (whom) (speak-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) 'whom did you speak?'
har	Genitive	(32) iba har goru (this) (whose) (cow) 'whose cow is this?'
harar	Genitive	(33) iyan harar goru (this) (whose-pl.) (cow) 'whose (pl.) cow is this?'

(d) Relative Pronouns

As my data shows, Chakma relative pronouns are the following :

d₃æ thæ 'he who' d₃ara thara 'they who'
d₃iyān siyān 'that which' d₃ar thar 'his whose'

Chakma relative pronouns are used in complex sentences and as a rule two pronouns occur in the same sentence through the one is the part of the subordinate clause and the other of the main clause. Here a singular pronoun always agrees with another singular pronoun and the plural pronoun with another pronoun having the same number. Actually they function as correlatives.

Relative pronouns have two contrasts : i) animate and ii) inanimate.

- i) d₃æ thæ 'he who'
- d₃ara thara 'they who'
- d₃ar thar 'his whose'
- ii) d₃iyān siyān 'that which'

(e) Indefinite Pronouns

As my data shows Chakma indefinite pronouns are *hizu* 'something' and *hənəd₃one* 'somebody'. The animate form is '*hənəd₃one*' and the inanimate form is '*hizu*'.

(f) Reflexive Pronouns

Only one reflexive pronoun is observed in Kolkata Chakma in the present observation. It is 'gay gay' 'by one's self' e.g.

- (35) muy gay gay e haman gorim
 (I) (myself) (this) (work-def.) (do-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
 'I shall do the work myself.'

3.2.3 NUMERALS

The Chakmas of Kolkata and its adjoining areas have no different numerals or numeric system of their own. It is observed that the Chakma numerals are nothing but the numerals of the Standard Colloquial Bengali with some changes in their phonological shape.

Chakma numerals can be divided into two categories : a) Cardinals, b) Ordinals

(a) Cardinals :

Chakma cardinal compound numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed according to the model "1+10". Similarly twenty one to twenty nine, thirty one to thirty nine, forty one to forty nine, fifty one to fifty nine, sixty one to sixty nine, seventy one to seventy nine, eighty one to eighty nine, and ninety one to ninety nine are formed following the pattern "1+20", "1+30", "1+40", "1+50", "1+60", "1+70", "1+80" and "1+90" respectively.

Some of the Chakma cardinal numerals are shown in the following list :

æk	'one'	unitʃ	'nineteen'
duy	'two'	huɽi	'twenty'
thin	'three'	exutʃ	'twenty one'
ser	'four'	thiritʃ	'thirty'

ḥātʃ	‘five’	tʃollitʃ	‘forty’
sɔy	‘six’	ḥondʒatʃ	‘fifty’
sat	‘seven’	sayʃ	‘sixty’
at	‘eight’	sottor	‘seventy’
nɔy	‘nine’	asi	‘eighty’
dɔtʃ	‘ten’	nobboy	‘ninety’
ægəɾɔ	‘eleven’	ækʂɔ	‘one hundred’
barɔ	‘twelve’	æk hazar	‘one thousand’
thæɾɔ	‘thirteen’	di hazar	‘two thousand’
soddɔ	‘fourteen’	æk lak	‘one lakh’
ḥonɔɾɔ	‘fifteen’	di lak	‘two lakh’
sulɔ / sulwɔ	‘sixteen’	æk hothi	‘one crore’
sotrɔ	‘seventeen’	di hothi	‘two crore’
atharɔ	‘eighteen’		

(b) Ordinals :

Chakma has no ordinal system of its own. The Chakmas of Kolkata use the Bengali ordinals, if necessary. They actually, prefer cardinals to ordinals.

3.2.4 VERBS

Verb forms of Kolkata Chakma consist of a single morpheme or more than one morpheme. Being an inflectional language it takes suffixes for formation of different verbal forms. Chakma verb morphology is built up of the following deictic categories : tense, aspect, mood, person and number. In Chakma it is noteworthy that the verbal forms vary according to both person and number. Verb bases in Kolkata Chakma end in either a vowel or a consonant. These fall into three categories : simple base, conjunct base and compound base.

Simple base : A simple base in Kolkata Chakma refers to a bare root like / dʒa- / ‘go’, / ha- / ‘eat’, / hin- / ‘buy’, / hul- / ‘open’ etc.

Conjunct base : As my data shows Chakma conjunct or composite verbs consist of either (i) a noun followed by a Verb or (ii) an adjective followed by a Verb. The examples of the first category are cited follow :

Structure	Examples	Meaning
N + V	/ φud ₃ or gər- /	ask
	/ sasti dæ- /	punish
	/ salam gər- /	salute
	/ røkka gər- /	save
	/ sristi gər- /	create

Examples of the second category are as follows :

Structure	Examples	Meaning
Adj + V	/ rad ₃ i hə- /	be ready
	/ bərxastə gər- /	suspend

Compound base : In Kolkata Chakma, compound verbs are very less in number. A Chakma compound verb is made up of a polar verb followed by a vector verb. In a compound verb the first constituent is more important than the second one. Some compound verbs are the following :

/ heye æla- / 'complete eating', / gade thak- / 'continue to sing', / heye lə- / 'eat definitely',
/ φuzi φæla- / 'complete wiping', / buzi lə- / 'understand definitely'

3.2.5 TENSE

Kolkata Chakma shows three tenses : (i) Present tense, (ii) Past tense, (iii) Future tense.

The following shows the total five forms of finite verbs :

- Simple present (Present indefinite)
- Simple past (Past indefinite / Present perfective / Past perfective)
- Simple future (Future indefinite)
- Present imperfective / Past imperfective
- Habitual past

In this connection it is pertinent to mention that verbs of identical canonical shape have the same morphophonemic changes in different tenses of the verbs. Interestingly, the same verbal forms can be used to express different tenses. So, a single verbal form is used in showing more than one tense. For example, in Chakma spoken in Kolkata verb forms for simple past, present perfective and past perfective are the same. And also present imperfective and past imperfective have the same verbal forms.

The tense suffixes are presented below :

Simple Present		
Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/-ŋ/ or /-m/ /-oŋ/	/-y/ /-i/
Ind	/-tʃ/ /-otʃ/	/-ϕ (zero) / /-o/
IIIrd	/-y/ /-æ/ or /-e/	/-n/ /-on/

Tense suffixes for first person singular, second person singular and plural and third person singular and plural are phonologically conditioned. The suffixes /-ŋ/, /-m/, /-tʃ/, /-ϕ/, /-y/ (in third person singular) and /-n/ occur after the vowel sounds. /-oŋ/, /-otʃ/, /-o/, /-i/ /-æ/ or /-e/, /-on/ are added if the words end in consonants.

Simple past / Present perfective / Past perfective		
Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/-e/ /-oŋ/	/-ey/
Ind	/-otʃ/	/-o/
IIIrd	/-e/ or /-æ/	/-on/ /-oŋ/

In the first person singular the verb root can take either the suffix /-e/ or /-oŋ/ for example both the verb forms /gɔd₃d₃e/ and /gɔd₃d₃oŋ/ denote “(I) did”, “(I) have done” and “(I) had done”. In addition, the root final consonant is doubled e.g. /hinne/ “(I) bought / (I) have bought / (I) had bought”, /huylle/ “(I) opened / (I) have opened / (I) had opened”. If the root ends in a vowel the root vowel changes and the glide /y/ occurs in the first person singular form. But the tense suffix /-e/ remains the same e.g. /giye/ ‘(I) went’.

In the first person, plural, verbs ending in either a consonant or a vowel take /-ey/. If

the root ends in a consonant, the root final consonant is doubled e.g. / boytʃtʃey / “(we) sat”, “(we) have sat”, (we) had sat”, / eytʃtʃey / “(we) came”, “(we) have come”, “(we) had come” etc. The root final consonant is also doubled in the second person singular and plural and the third person singular and plural e.g. / hinnotʃ / “(you–sg) bought / have bought / had bought” / hinno / “(you–pl) bought, / have bought / had bought”, / hinn^y / “(he/she/it) bought / has bought / had bought”, / hinnoŋ / “(they) bought / have bought / had bought.”

The glide / y / comes before the suffix / –e / or / –æ / due to the influence of the vowel / i / of the verb stem in the third person singular form e.g. / dʒiye / “(he) went / has gone / had gone”, / dekkiyæ / “(he) saw / has seen / had seen” etc.

In the third person plural the two suffixes / –on / and / –oŋ / are phonologically conditioned. The suffix / –on / is added to the verb root ending in a vowel sound e.g. / hi^yon / “(they) ate”, “(they) have eaten”, and “(they) had eaten”. / –on / is added after a consonant e.g. / aynnoŋ / “(they)bought”, “(they) have bought” and “(they) had bought”. / –oŋ / is added after a consonant.

Simple future

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ –m /	/ –bɔ /, / –ibɔ /
	/ –im /	/ –bɔŋ /, / –ibɔŋ /
IInd	/ –bæ /	/ –ba /
	/ –ibæ /	/ –iba / or / –ibyæ /
IIIrd	/ –bɔ /	/ –bak /
	/ –ibɔ /	/ –ibak /

For the formation of the simple future the endings / –m /, / –bɔ /, / –bɔŋ /, / –ba /, / –bæ /, / –bɔ / and / –bak / are added to the verb roots ending in vowels. The rest are added to the verb roots ending in consonants.

In relation to the first person plural it can be stated that the verbs ending in a consonant can take either / –ibɔ / or / –ibɔŋ / e.g. / hinibɔ / or / hinibɔŋ / “(we) shall buy”. The verbs ending in a vowel are affixed with either / –bɔ / or / –bɔŋ / e.g. / hæbɔ / or / hæbɔŋ / “(we) shall eat”.

Present imperfective / Past imperfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -ḡor / / -ḡor /	/ -r / / -ir /
IIInd	/ -r / / -or /	/ -r / / -or /
IIIrd	/ -r / / -er / or / -ær /	/ -dḡ / / -odḡ /

Verb roots ending in vowels have the following suffixes / -ḡor /, / -r / and / -dḡ /. The suffixes / -ḡor /, / -ir /, / -or /, / -er / or / -ær / and / -odḡ / are added to the verb roots which end in consonants.

Habitual Past

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -dḡ / / -idḡ /	/ -dḡ / / -idḡ /
IIInd	/ -de / or / -dæ / / -ide / or / -idæ /	/ -da / / -ida /
IIIrd	/ -dḡ / / -ido /	/ -dak / / -idak /

Vowel ending roots have the following suffixes : / -dḡ /, / -dḡ /, / -de / or / -dæ /, / -da /, / -dḡ / and / -dak / The rest take / -idḡ /, / -idḡ /, / -ide / or / -idæ /, / -ida /, / -ido / and / -idak / . / -de / and / -dæ / are two free variants. Similarly / -ide / and / -idæ / are also two free variants.

In the following the full paradigm of the verb / hin- / 'do' is shown in different tenses and numbers.

Present Indefinite

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinḡ	hini
Second	hinot	hino
Third	hine	hinon

Past Indefinite / Present Perfective / Past Perfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinne	hinney
Second	hinnotʃ	hinno
Third	hinnye or hinniye	hinnoŋ

Future Indefinite

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinim	hinibo or hiniboŋ
Second	hinibæ	hiniba
Third	hinibo	hinibak

Present Imperfective / Past Imperfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinor	hinir
Second	hinor	hinor
Third	hiner or hinaer	hindoŋ

Habitual Past

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinduŋ	hinidoŋ
Second	hinde or hinda	hinida
Third	hinido	hinidak

3.2.6 MOOD

Imperative is the only mood which exists in Kolkata Chakma and it is marked by suffixes in the present and future tenses. The suffixes used are different in the second person pronouns indicating ordinary, familiar and honorific senses.

As already mentioned in 3.2.1.6 that Kolkata Chakma has two sets of second person pronouns /thuy/ and /thumi/. For the second person ordinary pronouns the present imperative suffixes are /-ϕ/ in singular and /-ϕ/ and /-ɔ/ in plural. In plural, /-ϕ/ is used after vowels and /-ɔ/ is after consonants. For the familiar pronouns the present imperative suffixes are the same. For the honorific pronouns the imperative suffixes are also /-ϕ/ and /-ɔ/ in singular and plural. The suffix /-ϕ/ is added after vowels and /-ɔ/ is added after consonants, i.e. these two suffixes are phonologically conditioned.

For the second person ordinary and familiar pronouns the future imperative suffixes are similar to those of the present simple tense. For the second person honorific pronouns the future imperative suffixes are similar to those of the future simple tense.

3.2.7 DUPLICATED VERBS

Kolkata Chakma shows the use of duplicated verbs. Here some verbs are repeated to express the meaning of repetition, continuation and emphasis. Reduplicatives take inflections. Here the suffix is /-te/ or /-tæ/, after voiceless consonants and /r/. It becomes /-de/ or /-dæ/ after vowels or voiced consonants except /r/. /-te/ and /-tæ/ are two free variants. Similarly, /-de/ or /-dæ/ are two free variants.

Examples with the suffix /-te/ or /-tæ/.

sikte (æ)	sikte (æ)	'while learning'	thakte (æ)	thakte (æ)	'while staying'
sotte (æ)	sotte (æ)	'while climbing'	aste (æ)	aste (æ)	'while coming'
ϕotte (æ)	ϕotte (æ)	'while putting on'	lotte (æ)	lotte (æ)	'while moving'
ϕitte (æ)	ϕitte (æ)	'while returning'	gotte (æ)	gotte (æ)	'while doing'
bæste (æ)	bæste (æ)	'while selling'	matte (æ)	matte (æ)	'while beating'
xütte (æ)	xütte (æ)	'while digging'	batte (æ)	batte (æ)	'while grinding'

Examples with the suffix /-de/ or /-dæ/.

hade (æ)	hade (æ)	'while eating'	ϕade (æ)	ϕade (æ)	'while taking'
bode (æ)	bode (æ)	'while sitting'	gade (æ)	gade (æ)	'while singing'
golde (æ)	golde (æ)	'while melting'	helde (æ)	helde (æ)	'while playing'
nide (æ)	nide (æ)	'while receiving'	sade (æ)	sade (æ)	'while looking'
thamade (æ)	thamade (æ)	'while pulling up'	dulde (æ)	dulde (æ)	'while swinging'
bærade (æ)	bærade (æ)	'while travelling'	lode (æ)	lode (æ)	'while taking'

lamde (æ) lamde (æ) ‘while getting down’ d₃anade (æ) d₃anade (æ) ‘while informing’
xulde (æ) xulde (æ) ‘while opening’ hode (æ) hode (æ) ‘while speaking’

Reciprocal assimilation occurs in the context of the alveolar rolled / r / e.g.

ɸorte (æ)	ɸorte (æ)	ɸotte (æ)	ɸotte (æ)	‘while putting on’
lorte (æ)	lorte (æ)	lotte (æ)	lotte (æ)	‘while moving’
ɸirte (æ)	ɸirte (æ)	ɸitte (æ)	ɸitte (æ)	‘while returning’
gorte (æ)	gorte (æ)	gotte (æ)	gotte (æ)	‘while doing’
marte (æ)	marte (æ)	matte (æ)	matte (æ)	‘while beating’
xũrte (æ)	xũrte (æ)	xũtte (æ)	xũtte (æ)	‘while digging’
sor̥te (æ)	sor̥te (æ)	sotte (æ)	sotte (æ)	‘while climbing’

For the formation of duplicated verbs, the suffix / -i / is also added to the verb root e.g.

ur̥i ur̥i ‘while flying’, hadi hadi ‘while walking’

This type of reduplicated forms are rarely used.

3.2.8 NON-FINITE VERBAL SYSTEM

In Kolkata Chakma there are three non-finite verbs forms :

(a) Perfective conjunctives, (b) Conditional conjunctives, (c) Infinitives

It is worth mentioning that in Chakma spoken in and around Kolkata, verbal nouns also function as infinitives. Non-finite verbs have no tense.

(a) Perfective conjunctives

The perfective suffixes are / -ney / and / -iney / and / -i /. The occurrence of / -ney / or / -iney / is phonologically conditioned. The suffix / -ney / occurs if the verb stem ends in a vowel and / -iney / occurs if it ends in a consonant e.g. √ha + ney → √heney ‘having eaten’, √naz + inei → naziney ‘having danced’.

Also / -e / is added to the stem. Perfective conjunctives are used to avoid the mentioning of two independent clauses connected by the conjunction “and” and have the same subject or the doer of the action.

The examples of perfective conjunctives are as follows :

Examples with / -iney /

mariney	‘having killed’	huliney	‘having opened’
goriney	‘having done’	d ₃ aniney	‘having known’
udiney	‘having got up’	dubiney	‘having dived’

ϕoriney	'having put on'	siginey	'having learnt'
heliney	'having played'	ϕiriney	'having returned'
thaminey	'having stopped'	badiney	'having ground'
d ₃ aniney	'having known'	mariney	'having killed'
suniney	'having heard'	soṛiney	'having mounted / ridden'
daginey	'having called'	āginey	'having drawn'

Examples with / -ney /

heney	'having eaten'	diney	'having given'
geney	'having sung'	honey	'having said'

Examples with / -i /

thani	'having pulled'	nasi	'having danced'
lami	'having got down'		

Alternative forms are also used as perfective conjunctives. These alternants give the same meaning e.g.,

gori guray	'having done'	bazi buzay	'having played'
bere boray	'having travelled'	ϕiri ϕuray	'having returned'
heliney or heli hulay	'having played'	deginey or degi dugay	'having seen'
huliney or huli hulay	'having opened'		

All verbs do not show such alternants.

(b) Conditional conjunctives

The conditional markers are / -le / or / -læ / and / -ile / or / -ilæ /. Conditional conjunctives help to avoid the use of two independent clauses having the same or the different subjects. The occurrences of / -le / or / -læ / and / -ile / or / -ilæ / are subject to phonological conditioning. If the verb in consideration ends in a vowel it takes / -le / or / -læ /. Verbs with consonant endings need / -ile / or / -ilæ /. The examples are as under :

gorile / gorilæ	'If (subject(s)) do / does'
helile / helilæ	'If (subject(s)) play / plays'
sigile / sigilæ	'If (subject(s)) learn / learns'
nasile / nasalæ	'If (subject(s)) dance / dances'
d ₃ agile / d ₃ agilæ	'If (subject(s)) awake / awakes'
ϕorile / ϕorilæ	'If (subject(s)) put on / puts on'

golile / golilæ	'If (subject(s) melt / melts'
helile / helilæ	'If (subject(s)) play / plays'
degile / degilæ	'If (subject(s)) see / sees'
dubile / dubilæ	'If (subject(s)) dive / dives'
thamile / thamilæ	'If (subject(s)) stop / stops'
dulile / dulilæ	'If (subject(s)) swing / swings'
gunile / gunilæ	'If (subject(s)) count / counts'
marile / marilæ	'If (subject(s)) kill / kills'
d ₃ anile / d ₃ anilæ	'If (subject(s)) know / knows'
badile / badilæ	'If (subject(s)) grind / grinds'
sunile / sunilæ	'If (subject(s)) hear / hears'
hulile / hulilæ	'If (subject(s)) open / opens'
soṛile / soṛilæ	'If (subject(s)) ride / rides'

Examples with / -le / or / -læ /

hæle / hælə	'If (subject(s)) eat / eats'
sæle / sælə	'If (subject(s)) see / sees'
lble / lblæ	'If (subject(s)) take / takes'
dile / dilæ	'If (subject(s)) give / gives'
hole / hōlə	'If (subject(s)) speak / speaks'

(c) Infinitives

In Kolkata Chakma there are three structures for infinitives and three ways for forming them. These are the following :

(i) The suffix / -te / is added to the verbal noun with the suffix / -bar / in the genitive form and this type of structure is widely used. Here the stem ends in / -a / or / -i / before the suffix / -bar /. The final / -r / of / -bar / changes to / t / due to the influence of the following consonant / t /. Thus for assimilation / æbar + te / changes to / æbatte / 'to come', / hulibar + te / changes to / hulibatte / 'to open' etc. Some more examples are :

dægabatte	'to show'	gōribatte	'to do'
sigibatte	'to learn'	maribatte	'to kill'
soṛibatte	'to ride'	bæsibatte	'to sell'

dagibatte	'to call'	nasibatte	'to dance'
helibatte	'to play'	udibatte	'to get up'
namibatte	'to get down'	thulibatte	'to lift'
sunibatte	'to hear'	φelibatte	'to reject'
d ₃ anibatte	'to know'	ragibatte	'to put'

If the root ends in the vowel /-a/, the above vowel changes to /-æ/ before /-bar/ e.g.,

hæbatte	'to eat' (< √ha)	sæbatte	'to borrow' (< √sa)
gæbatte	'to sing' (< √ga)	d ₃ æbatte	'to go' (< √d ₃ a)

If the root ends in a consonant, /-i- / comes before /-bar/ e.g.

goribatte	'to do' (< √gor),	nasibatte	'to dance' (< √naz)
sigibatte	'to learn' (< √sig)	helibatte	'to play' (< √hel)

Some exceptions to this rule are :

æbatte	'to come'	bōbatte	'to sit'
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The causative stem and the denominative base end in /-a/ instead of /-i/ before /-bar/ e.g.

thamabatte	'to stop'	dægabatte	'to show'
mizabatte	'to mix'	d ₃ agabatte	'to awake'

A few exceptions are habebatte 'to feed' etc.

If the root ends in a vowel other than /-a/ the vowel remains unchanged e.g.

dæbatte	'to give' (< √dæ)	hōbatte	'to speak' (< √hō)
lōbatte	'to take' (< √lō)		

There are some exceptions, e.g., thebatte 'to stay', bōbatte 'to sit', thogebatte 'to put'.

For giving emphasis on the infinitives, /-y/ is added to it at the end. Then the low vowel /-a- / of /-bar/ changes to the mid vowel /-e- / and this vowel-heightening occurs due to /-y/ attached to the word-final position. This morphophonemic feature is common to Kolkata Chakma e.g.

goribettey	'to do' (< goribartey)	dibettey	'to give' (< dibartey)
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(ii) The suffix /-dō / or /-tō / is added to the verb root. The occurrence of /-tō ~ -dō / is phonologically conditioned. If the verb root ends in a vowel or a voiced consonant the suffix /-dō / occurs and /-tō / is used after the voiceless consonant. For example :

hædɔ	'to eat' (< \sqrt{ha})	hindɔ	'to buy' (< \sqrt{hin})
dæktɔ	'to see' (< $\sqrt{dæk}$)	gædɔ	'to sing' (< \sqrt{ga})

If the verb root ends in /-a/, it changes to /-æ/ before /-dɔ/ e.g.

hædɔ	'to eat' (< \sqrt{ha})	gædɔ	'to sing' (< \sqrt{ga})
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(iii) It is interesting to take note of the fact that the verbal nouns without any suffix can also be used as infinitives though these usages are very rare in Kolkata Chakma, e.g.,

ghumebar	'to sleep'	ɸoribar	'to read'
hɔbar	'to speak' etc.		

3.2.9 FORMATION OF NEGATIVE

Kolkata Chakma uses two negative particles /nɔ/, /ney/ and one negative verb /nɔy/ for negation.

(a) Negative Particles

(i) Tense neutralisation in the use of /nɔ/ features Chakma. Thus the negative marker /nɔ/ is used in all the three tenses : present, past and future. It has no variation according to person, number and gender. The negative particle /nɔ/ is placed just before the finite and non-finite verbs. This is a characteristic feature of Kolkata Chakma. Verbs in all categories including the perfective are associated with the particle /nɔ/. There is no difference between the present perfective and the past perfective in negative formation. For example the verb form /eytʃɪyæ/ which is used to indicate both the present and past perfective i.e. "he has come" and "he had come" have a single form /nɔ eytʃɪyæ/ in negation.

The negative particle /nɔ/ is used to negate verb forms of both the present and the future imperative tenses.

(35)	ɸani	nɔ	dæ	'Don't give water'
	(water)	(don't)	(give-pret.imp.)	
(36)	idu	nɔ	eytʃ	'Don't come here'
	(here)	(don't)	(come-fut.imp)	

(ii) The other negative particle is /ney/ "is not, are not, have not", which is the opposite of /agæ/ "there is, there are, to have". This negative particle is used to negate a sentence to deny any kind of possession e.g. ba ghorɔt ney "Father is not at home".

(b) Negative Verb

It is noteworthy that there is also the negative verb / nøy / (“is not, are not”, the opposite of the verb “to be”) used in the present tense and it is used in negative sentences irrespective of all persons and numbers. The example are shown below :

- (37) muy lamba nøy : I am not tall.
(38) ami lamba nøy : We are not tall.
(39) thuy lamba nøy : You (sg) are not tall.
(40) thumi lamba nøy : You (pl) are not tall.
(41) thæ lamba nøy : He / she is not tall.
(42) thara lamba nøy : They are not tall.

3.3.0 MORPHOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF RANGAMATI CHAKMA

In the present section morphological description of Rangamati Chakma has been discussed. Incidentally, morphological structure of Chittagong Bengali has also been taken into consideration as and when required to indicate the similarities which come up between Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.

3.3.1 NOMINAL INFLECTIONS

In Rangamati Chakma gender is not grammatical. Nouns are characterised with case, number, animacy and definiteness. Case, number, person, status are the features of pronouns. In this regard Chittagong Bengali is close to Rangamati Chakma.

3.3.1.1 Cases and Case Markers

Nouns of Rangamati Chakma comprise six cases : nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, locative and genitive. Both case-suffixes⁴ and post positions are to exhibit different cases of nouns. These are as follows :

Nominative	:	/ -ϕ / , / -e / or / -ye /
Accusative	:	/ -ϕ / , / -ore / or / -re /
Instrumental	:	/ -e / or / -æ / or / -y / , / -ot / , / -di / , / gori / (Post position)
Ablative	:	/ tun / (Post position)
Genitive	:	/ -or / or / -r /
Locative	:	/ -ye / , / -ot / or / -t / , / -e /

Nominative :

(i) Zero marker :

(43) goru gari thane ‘The bullock draws a cart’
(bullock) (cart) (draw-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)

(ii) / -e / which freely varies with / -ye / :

(44) rame/ramye ey hōdahan həy ‘Ram says this word’
(Ram-nom.) (this) (word) (say-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)

Accusative :

(i) Zero case marker :

(45) rani gan gay ‘Rani sings’
(Rani) (song) (sing-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)

(ii) / -re / and / -ore / are phonologically conditioned. The former is added to a vowel and the letter is added to a consonant.

(46) ʃmadɔdɜegunore mone ragetʃ ‘Remember (your) friends’
(friends-acc.) ([Please] remember-fut.imp.non.hon.)

(47) binare dak ‘Call Bina’
(Bina-acc.) (call-pre.imp.non.hon.)

Instrumental :

(i) / -e / or / -æ / and / -y / are phonologically conditioned. Nouns ending in consonants take / -e / or / -æ / and nouns ending in vowels take / -y /.

(48) meg’e / meg’æ tʃerohatte dagi ziyegoy
(clouds-instr.) (all sides) (covered)
‘The sky is covered with clouds’

(49) thærjay hi na ’oy
(money-instr.) (what) (can’t) (be made)
‘Money can buy / bring everything’ / ‘Money makes everything’

(ii) / -ot / –

(50) ami badɔt gori dɜæbɔŋ ‘We shall go by bus’
(we) (bus-instr.) (by) (go-fut.ind.1st.pl.)

(iii) / -di / -

- (51) thara xəlɔmdi lægɔn 'They write with a pen'

(they) (pen-instr.) (write-pre.ind.3rd.pl.)

(iv) / gori / -

- (52) ami badʒɔt gori dʒæbɔŋ 'We shall go by bus'

(we) (bus-instr.) (by) (go-fut.ind.1st.pl.)

Ablative :

(i) / tun / -

- (53) hakka bombettun (bomber+tun) æbɔ

(uncle) (Bombay-genitive suffix-abl.) (come-fut.ind.3rd.sg.)

'My uncle will come from Bombay'

Locative :

(i) / -ye / -

- (54) dʒarhaylye huwɔ ɸɔræ 'Dew-drops fall in the winter'

(winter-loc.) (dew-drops) (fall-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)

(ii) / -ɔt / and / -t / are phonologically conditioned. The former is used after a consonant

and the latter is used after a vowel.

- (55) redɔt nɔ helitʃ 'Don't play at night'

(night-loc.) (don't) (play-fut.imp.non.hon.)

- (56) thæ baŋlat gɔm 'He is good in Bengali'

(he) (Bengali-loc.) (good)

(iii) / -e / -

- (57) thuy mɔŋgɔlbare eytʃ 'Come on Tuesday'

(you) (Tuesday-loc.) ([Please] come-fut.imp)

Genitive :

(i) Genitive suffixes / -ɔr / and / -r / are subject to phonological conditioning. The former is used after consonants and the latter after a vowel.

radʒar ɸuwɔ 'King's son'

(king-gen.) (son)

agadʒɔr ʃudʒdʒwɔ 'The sun of the sky'

(sky-gen.) (sun)

Both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma show similarity in respect to the number of cases. Both comprise six cases.

As regards cases and case-endings in Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma, it can be said that some common case endings as characteristic features are observed. So, case endings of Chittagong Bengali when compared with those found in Rangamati Chakma present the following features :

(i) Zero ending in nominative and accusative is a common feature in both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.

Nominative :

	Rangamati Chakma			Chittagong Bengali		
(58)	goru	gatʃ	hay	goru	g'aʃ	xay
	(cow)	(grass)	(eat-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	(cow)	(grass)	(eat-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)
	Glosses : 'The cow eats grass'					

Accusative :

(59)	muy	b'at	xem	ãy	b'at	xayum
	(I)	(rice)	(eat-fut.ind.1st.sg.)	(I)	(rice)	(eat-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
	Glosses : 'I shall eat rice'					

(ii) / -e / case ending is found in nominative cases of both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

	Rangamati Chakma			Chittagong Bengali		
(60)	bone	bone	hoyd ₃ d ₃ e gɔrɔn	boyne	boyne	mayrɔit xɔre
	(sister-nom)	(sister-nom)	(quarrel-pre.impf.3rd.pl.)	(sister-nom)	(sister-nom)	(quarrel-pre.impf.3rd.pl.)
	Glosses : 'Sisters are quarrelling with each other'					

(iii) Instrumental case ending / -e / is found in both Chittagong Bengali and Rangamati Chakma.

	Rangamati Chakma			Chittagong Bengali		
(61)	mand ₃ e	ʔæde	læɔŋ	manuʃ	ʔate	læxe
	(man)	(hand-instr.)	(write-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	(man)	(hand-instr.)	(write-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)
	Glosses : 'Man writes with (his) hand'					

(iv) Genitive endings / -ɔr / and / -r / which are phonologically conditioned are used in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Rangamati Chakma		Chittagong Bengali		Glosses
baganɔr	ɸulun	baganɔr	ɸulun	'Flowers of the garden'
(garden-gen.)	(flowers)	(garden-gen.)	(flowers)	
radʒar	ɸuwo	radʒar	ɸuwo	'Son of the king'
(king-gen.)	(son)	(king-gen.)	(son)	

3.3.1.2 Number

In Rangamati Chakma, there are two numbers : singular and plural. As per my data the plural markers are /-un/, /-gun/, /-ani/, /-gani/, /-dagi/ and /-dayi/. Example are as follows :

Use of the Plural Marker — / -un / ²

Singular		Plural	
ron	'garlic'	ronun	'garlics'
hugur	'dog'	hugurun	'dogs'
hogil	'cuckoo'	hogilun	'cuckoos'
bæŋ	'frog'	bæŋun	'frogs'
badur	'bat'	badurun	'bats'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋulun	'fingers'
din	'day'	dinun	'days'
ʃaɽ	'ox'	ʃaɽun	'oxen'
humor	'crocodile'	humorun	'crocodiles'
horin	'deer'	horinun	'deer'
ʃiyel	'fox'	ʃiyelun	'foxes'
ɸiɽiŋ	'grasshopper'	ɸiɽiŋun	'grasshoppers'
ʃiŋ	'horn'	ʃiŋun	'horns'
bandɔr	'monkey'	bandɔrun	'monkeys'
ʃuyɔr	'pig'	ʃuyɔrun	'pigs'
dur	'tortoise'	durun	'tortoises'
hil	'latch'	hilun	'latches'
thɔm	'pillar'	thɔmun	'pillars'
madur	'mat'	madurun	'mats'
ɸattor	'stone'	ɸattorun	'stones'
aɸel	'apple'	aɸelun	'apples'
narihul	'cocoanut'	narihulun	'cocoanuts'
hanɸul	'ear-ring'	hanɸulun	'ear-rings'

Use of the Plural Marker — / -gun /

Singular		Plural	
bōda	'egg'	bōdagun	'eggs'
guro	'child'	gurogun	'children'
gabud ₃ d ₃ e	'young man'	'gabud ₃ d ₃ egun	'youngmen'
ʃomudrō	'sea'	ʃomudrōgun	'seas'
thara	'star'	tharagun	'stars'
φibiryæ	'ant'	φibiryægun	'ants'
hurosō	'chicken'	hurosōgun	'chickens'
g'orā	'horse'	g'orāgun	'horses'
b'ærā	'lamb'	b'ærāgun	'lambs'
neḥali	'the Nepali man'	neḥaligun	'the Nepali men'
φrod ₃ aφoti	'butterfly'	φrod ₃ aφotigun	'butterflies'
haŋara	'crab'	haŋaragun	'crabs'
goru	'cow'	gorugun	'cows'
hōba	'crow'	hōbagun	'crows'
mōza	'mosquito'	mōzagun	'mosquitoes'
φæza	'owl'	φæzagun	'owls'
madi	'floor'	madigun	'floors'
sabi	'key'	sabigun	'keys'
hōla	'plaintain'	hōlagun	'plaintains'
alu	'potato'	alugun	'potatoes'
haru	'bangle'	harugun	'bangles'
xata	'exercise book'	xatagun	'exercise books'
b'ante	'monk'	b'antegun	'monks'
sina	'the Chinese man'	sinagun	'the Chinese men'

Use of the Plural Marker — / -ani /

Singular		Plural	
han	'ear'	hanani	'ears'
muk	'face'	mukkani	'faces'
thæŋ	'leg'	thæŋani	'legs'
mæk	'cloud'	mækkani	'clouds'

buy	'land'	buyani	'lands'
seyar	'chair'	seyarani	'chairs'
g'or	'room'	g'orani	'rooms'
zar	'bush'	zarani	'bushes'
² at	'hand'	² attani	'hands'
habor	'saree'	haborani	'sarees'
zal / d ₃ al	'net'	d ₃ alani / zalani	'nets'

Use of the Plural Marker — / -gani /

	Singular		Plural
φada	'leaf'	φadagani	'leaves'
xaru	'bangle'	xarugani	'bangles'
ludi	'creeper'	ludigani	'creepers'

In Rangamati Chakma, we have also / -dagi / and / -dayi / as plural markers and there are two free variants e.g. ramdagi ~ ramdayi 'Ram and others' ; bim_əldagi ~ bim_əldayi 'Bimal and others' ; binadagi ~ binadayi 'Bina and others' ; mimidagi ~ mimidayi 'Mimi and others'.

In Rangamati Chakma, if the words end in consonants / k, tʃ, t, p / we get the doubling of these consonants before the suffix / -un /

	Singular		Plural
nək	'nail'	nəkkun	'nails'
gatʃ	'tree'	gatʃtʃun	'trees'
ret	'night'	rettun	'nights'
² at	'hand'	² attun	'hands'
thut	'lip'	thuttun	'lips'
nak	'nose'	nakkun	'noses'
φiyætʃ	'onion'	φiyætʃtʃun	'onions'
² et	'elephant'	² ettun	'elephants'
matʃ	'fish'	matʃtʃun	'fishes'
thədæk	'parrot'	thədækkun	'parrots'
magərək	'spider'	magərəkkun	'spiders'

If the nouns end in voiced consonants like / n, r, l and ŋ / this doubling of consonants is not observed.

Singular		Plural	
ron	'garlic'	ronun	'garlics'
hugur	'dog'	hugurun	'dogs'
hogil	'cuckoo'	hogilun	'cuckoos'
bæŋ	'frog'	bæŋun	'frogs'
badur	'bat'	badurun	'bats'
aŋul	'finger'	aŋulun	'fingers'
din	'day'	dinun	'days'
ſār	'ox'	ſārun	'oxen'
humor	'crocodile'	humorun	'crocodiles'
² orin	'deer'	² orinun	'deer'
ſiyel	'fox'	ſiyelun	'foxes'
φiŋŋ	'grasshopper'	φiŋŋun	'grasshoppers'
ſiŋ	'horn'	ſiŋun	'horns'
bandor	'monkey'	bandorun	'monkeys'
ſuyor	'pig'	ſuyorun	'pigs'
dur	'tortoise'	durun	'tortoises'
hil	'latch'	hilun	'latches'
thom	'pillar'	thomun	'pillars'
madur	'mat'	madurun	'mats'
φattor	'stone'	φattorun	'stones'
aφel	'apple'	aφelun	'apples'
narihul	'cocoanut'	narihulun	'cocoanuts'
hanφul	'ear-ring'	hanφulun	'ear-rings'
ſogun	'vulture'	ſogunun	'vultures'

Numerical adjectives and adjectives of quantity are also used with nouns to refer to plurality.

bæk	satrōgun	'All the students'
all (quantitative adj.)	studenti ² -pl.	
bæk	manutŋun	'All the people'
all (quantitative adj.)	people-pl.	

hizu	manutʃ	'Some men'
some (quantitative adj.)	man	
bæk	ʃmadʒdʒegun	'All the students'
all (quantitative adj.)	student-pl.	
bæk	gorippun	'All the poor people'
all (quantitative adj.)	poor-pl.	
bæk	ʃrodʒagun	'All the subjects'
all (quantitative adj.)	subject-pl.	
ukkwə	milyæ	'One girl'
one (numeral adj.)	girl	
dibeyæ	milyæ	'Two girls'
two (numeral adj.)	girl	
thinnwə	milyæ	'Three girls'
three (numeral adj.)	girl	
sattwə	milyæ	'Seven girls'
seven (numeral adj.)	girl	
dotʃtʃwə	milyæ	'Ten girls'
ten (numeral adj.)	girl	

In Rangamati Chakma / bækkun / "all" is used with pronouns like ami bækkun "all of us", thumi bækkun "all of you", thara bækkun "all of them" etc.

The plural marker / -un / only is common to both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali. Examples from Chittagong Bengali are the following :

Singular		Plural	
ʔat	'hand'	ʔatun	'hands'
ʃul	'flower'	ʃulun	'flowers'
ʃol	'fruit'	ʃolun	'fruits'
sol	'goat'	solun	'goats'
ap	'snake'	apun	'snakes'
ʃorɪŋ	'grasshopper'	ʃorɪŋun	'grasshoppers'
xil	'latch'	xilun	'latches'
baliʃ	'pillow'	baliʃun	'pillows'
mas	'fish'	masun	'fishes'

xɔbm	'pen'	xɔbmun	'pens'
am	'mango'	amun	'mangoes'
xaffol	'jackfruit'	xaffolun	'jackfruits'
gas	'tree'	gasun	'trees'
dul	'ear-ring'	dulun	'ear-rings'
nɔk	'nail'	nɔkun	'nails'
badam	'groundnut'	badamun	'groundnuts'
naʃk	'drama'	naʃkun	'dramas'
ɸaɸor	'papad'	ɸaɸorun	'papads'
xobutor	'pigeon'	xobutorun	'pigeons'
bæŋ	'frog'	bæŋun	'frogs'
badur	'bat'	badurun	'bats'
muk	'face'	mukun	'faces'
iyal	'fox'	iyalun	'foxes'
ɔl	'finger'	ɔlun	'fingers'
ælas	'cardamom'	ælasun	'cardamoms'
on	'vulture'	onun	'vultures'

In Chittagong Bengali too, nouns are followed by numeral adjectives and adjectives of quantity e.g.

ugguwa	goru	'One cow'
one (numeral adj.)	cow	
duwa	goru	'Two cows'
two (numeral adj.)	cow	
tinnwa	sɔl	'Three goats'
three (numeral adj.)	goat	
ʃattwa	sɔl	'Seven goats'
seven (numeral adj.)	goat	
dɔʃʃwa	sɔl	'Ten goats'
ten (numeral adj.)	goat	
beyak	masun	'All fishes'
all (quantitative adj.)	fish-pl.	
beyak	badamun	'All groundnuts'
all (quantitative adj.)	groundnut-pl.	

3.3.1.3 Animacy

As my data shows the suffixes / -buwɔ / and / -un / or / -gun / are used to refer to animate or inanimate singular and plural nouns respectively. The suffix / -ani / or / -gani / is added to inanimate nouns only.

Like Rangamati Chakma, Chittagong Bengali too uses the plural suffix / -un / in both animate and inanimate plural nouns.

3.3.1.4 Definiteness

For 'definiteness', the suffixes of Rangamati Chakma as found in the present observation are the following :

(i) The suffix / -buwɔ / is used after words ending in vowels and ending in , / r / , / ɾ / and / y / e.g.

milyæbuwɔ	'the girl'	hugurbuwɔ	'the dog'
sadibuwɔ	'the umbrella'	gorubuwɔ	'the cow'
gurɔbuwɔ	'the child'	mondirbuwɔ	'the temple'
montribuwɔ	'the minister'	ɟigaribuwɔ	'the hunter'
aʃamibuwɔ	'the criminal'	sobibuwɔ	'the picture'
ɸuwɔbuwɔ	'the child'	indurbuwɔ	'the rat'
surbuwɔ	'the thief'	dʒanalabuwɔ	'the window'
bileybuwɔ	'the cat'	boybuwɔ	'the book'
moyurbuwɔ	'the peacock'	ɸattɔrbuwɔ	'the stone'
ʃɔgɔdabuwɔ	'the squirrel'	ladibuwɔ	'the stick'
durbuwɔ	'the tortoise'		

(ii) The suffix / -uwɔ / is used after consonants except / r / or / ɾ / e.g.

manutʃuwɔ	'the man'	gatʃuwɔ	'the tree'
dʒinitʃuwɔ	'the thing'	ɸennuwɔ	'the pen'
ɸolluwɔ	'the fruit'	bolluwɔ	'the ball'
bæŋɟuwɔ	'the frog'	hɔlɔmmuwɔ	'the pen'

(iii) The suffix / -yan / is also used after inanimate nouns ending in vowels e.g.

ɸittimiyān	'the earth'	ɸaniyan	'the water'
hɔdayān	'the word'	xanayan	'the food'
dʒagayan	'the place'	dɔrɔdʒayan	'the door'
garīyan	'the car'	suriyan	'the knife'
rastayan	'the road'		

(iv) The suffix / -an / is added to inanimate nouns ending in consonants e.g.

haman	'the work'	thonan	'the curry'
hurolan	'the axe'	haboran	'the saree'
goran	'the house'	foriran	'the body'

Plural nouns take / -un /, / -gun /, / -ani /, / -gani /, / -dagi / and / -dayi /.

To refer to indefiniteness, no suffix is added to the noun.

As my data shows in Chittagong Bengali, to indicate 'definiteness' singular nouns take the suffix / -ibya / and / -iyan / e.g.

qimibya	'the egg'	gasibya	'the tree'
apibya	'the snake'	juyoribya	'the pig'
qulibya	'the flower'	ronibya	'the garlic'
mukiyan	'the face'	ratiyan	'the night'
amibya	'the mango'	diniyan	'the day'
xolombiya	'the pen'	xilibya	'the latch'
thæŋiyan	'the leg'		

On the basis of my data it can be said that the following suffixes like / -un /, / -in / are added to plural nouns in Chittagong Bengali.

No suffix is used to mark 'indefiniteness' in the above dialect.

3.3.1.5 Person

Three persons are marked in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali. These are as follows : first person, second person and third person.

3.3.1.6 Status

The Honorific Pronoun

Rangamati Chakma contains two types of second person pronouns : / thuy / and / thumi /. The former is used in non-honorific sense while the latter is used in honorific sense.

		Singular	Plural
First Person		muy	ami
Second Person	Ordinary	thuy	thumi
	Familiar	thuy	thumi
	Honorific	thumi	thumi
Third Person		thæ	thara

3.3.2 PRONOUNS

In Rangamati Chakma, there are the following six kinds of pronouns :

- (a) Personal Pronouns
- (b) Demonstrative Pronouns
- (c) Interrogative Pronouns
- (d) Relative Pronouns
- (e) Indefinite Pronouns
- (f) Reflexive Pronouns

Pronouns of Rangamati Chakma have person, number and case distinctions. The same third person pronominal forms are used for both the masculine and feminine genders. Dual number is absent.

(a) Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns of Rangamati Chakma are the following :

	Person	Pronoun
Singular Number	I	Nominative – muy ‘I’ ; Accusative – mərə / mərə ‘me’ ; Genitive – mər / mə ‘my’, ‘mine’
	II	Nominative – thuy ‘you-non. hon.’, thumi ‘you-hon.’ ; Accusative – thore / thərə ‘you-non-hon.’, thomare / thomarə ‘you-hon.’ ; Genitive – tho / thər ‘your, yours-non. hon.’, thoma ‘your, yours-hon.’
	III	Nominative – the / thə ‘he / she-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – thare / tharə ‘him / her-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – thare / tharə ‘him / her, both hon. and non-hon.’
Plural Number	I	Nominative – ami ‘we’ ; Accusative – amare / amarə ‘us’ ; Genitive – amar / ama ‘our, ours’
	II	Nominative – thumi ‘you-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – thomare / thomarə ‘you-hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – thoma / thomar ‘your, yours-both hon. and non-hon.’
	III	Nominative – thara ‘they-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Accusative – tharare / thararə ‘them-both hon. and non-hon.’ ; Genitive – tharar / thara ‘their, theirs, both hon. and non-hon.’

The personal pronouns have three case forms : nominative, accusative and genitive.

(b) Demonstrative Pronouns

On the basis of my data demonstrative pronouns of Rangamati Chakma are the following:

Singular

iba / ibyæ, iyan / iyen 'this'

ḡiyan / ḡiyeṇ, oyan, ḡibyæ 'that'

Plural

igun, iyani, iyun, 'these'

ḡiyun / ḡigun, oyani 'those'

Demonstrative pronouns have 'near' and 'distant' references.

Demonstrative pronouns have number and gender distinctions. The above demonstrative pronouns are used to replace inanimate nouns and the following demonstrative pronouns are used to replace animate nouns.

ethe 'this person', thæ 'that person', ethara 'these persons', thara 'those persons'

(c) Interrogative Pronouns

As regards my data interrogative pronouns of Rangamati Chakma are the following :

Singular		Plural	
honna	'who'	hara	'who'
har	'whose'	harα	'whose'
haræ	'whom'	haræ haræ	'whom'
hi	'what'	hi hi	'what'
honan	'which'	hugun	'which'
hunnu	'which'	hunnu hunnu,	'which'
		hubu hubu	'which'
		huban huban	'which'

Interrogative pronouns express number and case differences.

(d) Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns of Rangamati Chakma as found in the present data are as follows :

d₃æ thæ 'he who' d₃ara thara 'they who'

d₃iyan ḡiyan 'that which' d₃ar thar 'his whose'

Relative pronouns can function as correlatives and they are characterized with case and number. Animate and inanimate contrasts are the features of relative pronouns.

Animate

d₃æ thæ 'he who'

d₃ara thara 'they who'

d₃ar thar 'his whose'

Inanimate

d₃iyan siyan 'that which'

(e) Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns of Rangamati Chakma are *hizu* ‘something’ and *hɔndʒone* ‘somebody’. The former is an inanimate form and the latter is an animate form.

(f) Reflexive Pronouns

The only reflexive pronoun is *gay gay* ‘by one’s self’

From the observation on pronouns in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali, we can state two important factors. These are the following :

(i) In Rangamati Chakma, there are only two sets of second personal pronouns: honorific and non-honorific. But in Chittagong Bengali, we find three sets of second personal pronouns : ordinary, familiar, and honorific.

Second Person	Singular	Plural
Ordinary	tũy	tõyara
Familiar	tuy	torã
Honorific	õne	õnara

(ii) In both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali dual number of pronouns is absent and the pronouns have person, number and case distinctions. Like Rangamati Chakma, Chittagong Bengali possesses six kinds of pronouns. My data shows the following pronouns of Chittagong Bengali.

Personal Pronouns	ãy (I), ãra (we), tũy (you-sg-ordinary), tõ ^{ya} (you-pl-ordinary), tuy (you-sg-familiar), torã (you-pl-familiar), õne (you-sg-honorific), õnara (you-pl-honorific), itay (he/she), itara (they), ãr (mine), ãrar (ours), tor / tõyar / õnar (yours-sg), torar / tõyarar / õnarar (yours-pl), itar (his/hers), itarar (theirs), ãre (mine), ãrare (us), tore / tõyare / õnare (you-sg), torare / tõyarare / õnarare (you-pl), itare (him), itarare (them).
Demonstrative Pronouns	ibyæ / iyan (this), oybyæ / oyan (that), eyun / iyun (these), oyun / oyin (those)
Interrogative Pronouns	xɔn (who), xare (whom), xi (what), xi xi (what-pl), xarare (whom-pl), xare xare (whom-pl), xɔn xɔn (what-pl)
Relative Pronouns	zæ itay “he who”, zara itãra “they who”, ziyã iyan “that which”, zar ... itar “his whose”
Indefinite Pronouns	xeyo (somebody someone), xisu (something)
Reflexive Pronouns	nize nize ‘by one’s self’

3.3.3 NUMERALS

Numerals of Rangamati Chakma are of two types : a) Cardinals, b) Ordinals

(a) Cardinals :

Cardinal compound numerals are formed following the “1+10” formula.

(b) Ordinals :

Extensive use of cardinal numbers is observed in Rangamati Chakma. Ordinals of Rangamati Chakma are nothing but the Bengali ordinals with some changes in their phonological shapes.

Chittagong Bengali adopts the numerical system of the Standard Colloquial Bengali like Rangamati Chakma. In Chittagong Bengali numerals are of two types : cardinals and ordinals. Numerals of Chittagong Bengali are featured with its own phonological characteristics. Like Rangamati Chakma, Chittagong Bengali has less use of ordinals.

3.3.4 VERBS

Verbs of Rangamati Chakma are made up by either a single morpheme or more than one morpheme. Base and inflection are two constituents of verbs. Tense, aspect, mood, person and number are the characteristic features of Chakma verbs of Rangamati.

Verb bases are grouped into three categories : simple base, conjunct base and compound base.

Simple base : A simple base in Rangamati Chakma means a bare root like / d₃a- / ‘go’, / g_{or}- / ‘do’, / hin- / ‘buy’, / hul- / ‘open’ etc.

Conjunct base : As my data shows either a noun followed by a verb or an adjective followed by a verb marks a conjunct base. For example : / adet₃ g_{or}- / ‘command’, / aza g_{or}- / ‘expect’, / thatta g_{or}- / ‘joke’, / ækmət ’ɔ / ‘agree’, / b_{or}xast_ɔ g_{or}- / suspend etc.

Compound base : A compound verb of Rangamati Chakma consists of a polar verb followed by a vector verb. Compound verbs are very rarely used by the Chakmas in Rangamati. For example : / heye φæla- / ‘complete eating’, / gade thak- / ‘continue to sing’, / heye l_ɔ- / ‘eat definitely’, / φuzi φæla- / ‘complete wiping’, / buzi l_ɔ- / ‘understand definitely’ etc.

Verb forms having simple base, conjunct base and compound base are also found in Chittagong Bengali.

In Chittagong Bengali a verb base is made up of a bare root like / x_{or}- / ‘do’, / xa- / ‘eat’, / xin- / ‘buy’, etc.

Like Rangamati Chakma, in Chittagong Bengali too nouns and adjective followed by verbs form conjunct bases. For example :

/ xad ₃ xər- / (N + V)	'do work'	/ fixar xər- / (N + V)	'confess'
/ deri xər- / (N + V)	'delay'	/ guli xər- / (N + V)	'shoot'
/ aram xər- / (N + V)	'take rest'	/ afa xər- / (N + V)	'hope'
/ xufi xər- / (Adj + V)	'make happy'	/ rad ₃ i ʔ- / (Adj + V)	'be ready'
/ toyri ʔ- / (Adj + V)	'be ready'	/ xarap xər- / (Adj + V)	'spoil'
/ ʃundər ʔ- / (Adj + V)	'be beautiful'		

Compound bases in Chittagong Bengali are found in the same order as in Rangamati Chakma. Examples : / xay φæl- / 'complete eating', / φori za- / 'continue reading', / xay za- / 'continue eating', / g'umay ne- / 'sleep definitely' etc.

3.3.5 TENSE

Rangamati Chakma manifests three tenses³: (i) Present tense, (ii) Past tense, (iii) Future tense.

There are altogether six paradigmatic categories of finite verbs. These are the following:

- Simple present (Present indefinite)
- Simple past (Past indefinite)
- Simple future (Future indefinite)
- Present imperfective / Past imperfective
- Habitual past
- Present perfective / Past perfective

Here the same verbal base can be used for denoting different tenses and verb forms vary according to number and person.⁴

The tense suffixes are the following :

Simple Present		
Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -ŋ / or / -m /	/ -y /
	/ -oŋ /	/ -i /
IInd	/ -tʃ /	/ -zero /
	/ -otʃ /	/ -o /
IIIrd	/ -y /	/ -n /
	/ -æ / or / -e /	/ -on /

Tense suffixes for first person singular, second person singular and plural, and third person singular and plural are subject to phonological conditioning. / -ŋ / or / -m /, / -tʃ /, / -zero /, / -y / (in third person singular) and / -n / are added after verb bases ending in vowels and the rest are after verb bases ending in consonants.

Simple Past

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -lʊŋ /	/ -lɔŋ /
	/ -ilʊŋ /	/ -ilɔŋ /
IInd	/ -le /	/ -la /
	/ -ile /	/ -ila /
IIIRD	/ -b /	/ -lak /
	/ -ib /	/ -ilak /

The suffixes / -ilʊŋ /, / -ilɔŋ /, / -ile /, / -ila /, / -ib / and / -ilak / are for the verb stems ending in consonants.

Verb roots which end in vowels take other suffixes.

Simple Future

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -m /	/ -bɔ /, / -ibɔ /
	/ -im /	/ -bɔŋ /, / -ibɔŋ /
IInd	/ -bæ /	/ -ba /
	/ -ibæ /	/ -iba / or / -ibyæ /
IIIRD	/ -bɔ /	/ -bak /
	/ -ibɔ /	/ -ibak /

The suffixes / -m /, / -bɔ /, / -bɔŋ /, / -ba /, / -bæ /, / -bɔ / and / -bak / are added to the verb bases ending in vowels. The rest are added to the verb bases ending in consonants.

The suffixes / -bɔ /, / -ibɔ / and / -bɔŋ / and / -ibɔŋ / are two free variants.

Present Imperfective / Past Imperfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -ḡor /	/ -r /
	/ -ḡor /	/ -ir /
IInd	/ -r /	/ -r /
	/ -or /	/ -or /
IIIrd	/ -r /	/ -ḡ /
	/ -er / or / -ær /	/ -ḡ /

Verb bases ending in vowel sounds have the following suffixes : / -ḡor /, / -r / and / -ḡ /. Verb bases ending in consonants take the rest.

Habitual Past

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -ḡ /	/ -ḡ /
	/ -idḡ /	/ -idḡ /
IInd	/ -de / or / -dæ /	/ -da /
	/ -ide / or / -idæ /	/ -ida /
IIIrd	/ -ḡ /	/ -ḡak /
	/ -idḡ /	/ -idḡak /

Here all the pairs of suffixes are phonologically conditioned.

Present Perfective / Past Perfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Ist	/ -e / or / -oḡ /	/ -ey /
IInd	/ -ot /	/ -o /
IIIrd	/ -e / or / -æ /	/ -on /
		/ -oḡ /

The following pairs of suffixes are free variants : / -e / and / -oḡ /, / -e / and / -æ /, / -on / and / -oḡ /.

In the following, the full paradigm of the verb / hin- / 'do' in different tenses is presented.

Present Indefinite

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinɔŋ	hini
Second	hinɔtʃ	hinɔ
Third	hine	hinɔn

Past Indefinite

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinilɔŋ	hinilɔŋ
Second	hinile	hinila
Third	hinilɔ	hinilak

Future Indefinite

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinim	hinibɔ or hinibɔŋ
Second	hinibæ	hiniba
Third	hinibɔ	hinibak

Present Imperfective / Past Imperfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinɔŋɔr	hinir
Second	hinɔr	hinɔr
Third	hiner or hinær	hinɔŋ ³ _^

Habitual Past		
Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hiniduñ	hinidoñ
Second	hinide or hinidæ	hinida
Third	hinidɔ	hinidak

Present Perfective / Past Perfective		
Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	hinne	hinney
Second	hinnot̃	hinno
Third	hinnye or hinniṽæ	hinnoṽ

Chittagong Bengali too has three tenses : (a) Simple Present (Present indefinite), (b) Simple Past (Past indefinite), (c) Simple Future (Future indefinite).

3.3.6 MOOD

There is only imperative mood in Rangamati Chakma and it has distinct set of suffixes in the present and future tenses. / -φ / is used as a present imperative suffix in both second person singular and plural ordinary forms. In plural / -ɔ / is used after verbs ending in consonants and no suffix is used after verbs ending in vowels. The present imperative suffixes for the second person familiar forms are the same. The imperative suffixes for the honorific pronouns are / -φ / and / -ɔ / in both singular and plural. Again no suffix is added to verbs ending in vowels and / -ɔ / is added to verbs ending in consonants.

The future imperative suffixes of second person ordinary and familiar pronouns are similar to the present tense. The future imperative suffixes of second person honorific pronouns are like those of the familiar forms of the future tense.

In Chittagong Bengali, only one mood i.e. imperative is observed. In present imperative and future imperative different suffixes are added to the verb forms.

The present imperative suffixes are /-φ/ and /-o/ for second person ordinary pronouns. The former is used after verbs ending in vowels and the latter is used after verbs ending in consonants. For second person familiar pronouns the present imperative suffix is /-φ/. For the honorific pronouns, the present imperative suffixes are /-n/ and /-un/. The former occurs if verb bases end in vowels and the latter occurs if the verb bases end in consonants.

The future imperative suffix for the second person ordinary pronouns is /-o/. The future imperative suffix for the second person familiar forms are like that of present indefinite form. In addition, the suffix for the second person honorific pronouns is similar to that of future indefinite form.

3.3.7 DUPLICATED VERBS

Duplication does not occur in all verbs. The suffixes /-te/ or /-tæ/ and /-de/ or /-dæ/ are added to verb bases. /-de/ or /-dæ/ are two free variants and they are added to vowels and voiced consonants. /-te/ or /-tæ/, two free variants, are used elsewhere. Examples are the following :

Examples with the suffix /-te/ or /-tæ/.

fikte (æ)	fikte (æ)	'while learning'	thakte (æ)	thakte (æ)	'while staying'
sotte (æ)	sotte (æ)	'while climbing'	aste (æ)	aste (æ)	'while coming'
φotte (æ)	φotte (æ)	'while putting on'	lotte (æ)	lotte (æ)	'while moving'
φitte (æ)	φitte (æ)	'while returning'	gotte (æ)	gotte (æ)	'while doing'
bæste (æ)	bæste (æ)	'while selling'	matte (æ)	matte (æ)	'while beating'
xutte (æ)	xutte (æ)	'while digging'	batte (æ)	batte (æ)	'while grinding'

Examples with the suffix /-de/ or /-dæ/.

hade (æ)	hade (æ)	'while eating'	φade (æ)	φade (æ)	'while taking'
bode (æ)	bode (æ)	'while sitting'	gade (æ)	gade (æ)	'while singing'
golde (æ)	golde (æ)	'while melting'	helde (æ)	helde (æ)	'while playing'
nide (æ)	nide (æ)	'while receiving'	sade (æ)	sade (æ)	'while looking'
thamade (æ)	thamade (æ)	'while pulling up'	dulde (æ)	dulde (æ)	'while swinging'
bæɾade (æ)	bæɾade (æ)	'while travelling'	lode (æ)	lode (æ)	'while taking'
lamde (æ)	lamde (æ)	'while getting down'	d ₃ anade (æ)	d ₃ anade (æ)	'while informing'
xulde (æ)	xulde (æ)	'while opening'	hode (æ)	hode (æ)	'while speaking'

Assimilation occurs in the context of the alveolar rolled / r / e.g.

ϕorte (æ)	ϕorte (æ)	>	ϕotte (æ)	ϕotte (æ)	‘while putting on’
lorte (æ)	lorte (æ)	>	lotte (æ)	lotte (æ)	‘while moving’
ϕirte (æ)	ϕirte (æ)	>	ϕitte (æ)	ϕitte (æ)	‘while returning’
gorte (æ)	gorte (æ)	>	gotte (æ)	gotte (æ)	‘while doing’
marte (æ)	marte (æ)	>	matte (æ)	matte (æ)	‘while beating’
xurte (æ)	xurte (æ)	>	xutte (æ)	xutte (æ)	‘while digging’
sorte (æ)	sorte (æ)	>	sotte (æ)	sotte (æ)	‘while climbing’

The suffix / -i / is sometimes added to some verbs, though very few in number, e.g.

ur̥i	ur̥i	‘while flying’,	hadi	hadi	‘while walking’
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Duplicated verbs are also observed in Chittagong Bengali. As my data shows, here the suffix is / -te /. The examples are the following :

xoyte	xoyte	‘while doing’	xayte	xayte	‘while eating’
golte	golte	‘while melting’	ʃikte	ʃikte	‘while learning’
gayte	gayte	‘while singing’	dite	dite	‘while giving’
ayste	ayste	‘while coming’	ʃaynte	ʃaynte	‘while pulling’
zayte	zayte	‘while going’	xoyte	xoyte	‘while talking’
nite	nite	‘while taking’	solte	solte	‘while walking’
nayste	nayste	‘while dancing’			

If the verb base ends in the rolled consonant assimilation takes place like that of Rangamati Chakma e.g.

xoyrte	xoyrte	>	xoytte	xoytte	‘while doing’
ϕirte	ϕirte	>	ϕitte	ϕitte	‘while returning’

3.3.8 NON-FINITE VERBAL SYSTEM

The following three non-finite verb forms exist in Rangamati Chakma :

(a) Perfective conjunctives, (b) Conditional conjunctives, (c) Infinitives

(a) Perfective conjunctives

/ -iney /, / -ney / and / -i / are perfective suffixes. / -iney / and / -ney / are phonologically conditioned. The former occurs if the verb base ends in a consonant. The latter occurs if the verb base ends in a vowel.

Examples with / -iney /

mariney	'having killed'	huliney	'having opened'
goriney	'having done'	d ₃ aniney	'having known'
udiney	'having got up'	dubiney	'having dived'
φoriney	'having put on'	figiney	'having learnt'
heliney	'having played'	φiriney	'having returned'
thaminey	'having stopped'	badiney	'having ground'
d ₃ aniney	'having known'	mariney	'having killed'
juniney	'having heard'	so _ɾ iney	'having mounted / ridden'
daginey	'having called'	aginey	'having drawn'

Examples with / -ney /

heney	'having eaten'	diney	'having given'
geney	'having sung'	honey	'having said'

Examples with / -i /

thani	'having pulled'	nasi	'having danced'
lami	'having got down'		

A few alternative forms are also used as perfective conjunctives e.g.

φiri φuray	'having returned'	bere boray	'having travelled'
bazi buzay	'having played'	gori guray	'having done'

(b) Conditional conjunctives

/ -le / or / -læ / and / -ile / or / -ilæ / are conditional suffixes. / -le / or / -læ / are two free-variants. Similarly / -ile / or / -ilæ / are two free-variants. / -le / or / -læ / is used after verb stems ending in vowels and / -ile / or / -ilæ / after verb stems ending in consonants.

Examples with / -ile / or / -ilæ /

gorile / gorilæ	'If (subject(s)) do / does'
helile / helilæ	'If (subject(s)) play / plays'
figile / figilæ	'If (subject(s)) learn / learns'
nasile / nasalæ	'If (subject(s)) dance / dances'
d ₃ agile / d ₃ agilæ	'If (subject(s)) awake / awakes'
φorile / φorilæ	'If (subject(s)) put on / puts on'

golile / golilæ	'If (subject(s) melt / melts'
helile / helilæ	'If (subject(s)) play / plays'
degile / degilæ	'If (subject(s)) see / sees'
dubile / dubilæ	'If (subject(s)) dive / dives'
thamile / thamilæ	'If (subject(s)) stop / stops'
dulile / dulilæ	'If (subject(s)) swing / swings'
gunile / gunilæ	'If (subject(s)) count / counts'
marile / marilæ	'If (subject(s)) kill / kills'
d ₃ anile / d ₃ anilæ	'If (subject(s)) know / knows'
badile / badilæ	'If (subject(s)) grind / grinds'
ʃunile / ʃunilæ	'If (subject(s)) hear / hears'
hulile / hulilæ	'If (subject(s)) open / opens'
soɣile / soɣilæ	'If (subject(s)) ride / rides'

Examples with / -le / or / -læ /

hæle / hælæ	'If (subject(s)) eat / eats'
sæle / sælæ	'If (subject(s)) see / sees'
ləle / ləlæ	'If (subject(s)) take / takes'
dile / dilæ	'If (subject(s)) give / gives'
həle / həlæ	'If (subject(s)) speak / speaks'

(c) Infinitives

Infinitives are formed in three ways in Rangamati Chakma :

(i) The suffix / -te / along with the suffix / -bar / which is a genitive form is used. But for assimilation final / r / changes to / t /. Before the suffix / -bar /, the stem ending vowel is either / -a / or / -i /. Some more examples are :

dægabatte	'to show'	giribatte	'to do'
ʃigibatte	'to learn'	maribatte	'to kill'
soɣibatte	'to ride'	bæsibatte	'to sell'
dagibatte	'to call'	nasibatte	'to dance'
helibatte	'to play'	udibatte	'to get up'
namibatte	'to get down'	thulibatte	'to lift'
ʃunibatte	'to hear'	ʃelibatte	'to reject'
d ₃ anibatte	'to know'	ragibatte	'to put'

If the root ends in a consonant, / -i / comes before / -bar /.

d ₃ anibatte	'to know'	ʃunibatte	'to hear'
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Exceptions : æbatte 'to come', bōbatte 'to sit'.

The root final / -a / changes to / -æ / before / -bar /.

sæbatte	'to chew'	d ₃ æbatte	'to go'
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If the verb root ends in a vowel other than / -a /, the vowel remains the same

bætʃtebatte	'to wait'	hōbatte	'to speak'
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For giving stress on the infinitives the following forms are also used :

goribettey	'to do'	dibettey	'to give'
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(ii) The suffix / -tə / or / -də / is added to the verbal bases.

ʃundə	'to hear'	didə	'to give'
dæktə	'to see'	hində	'to buy'

Root final / -a / changes to / -æ / e.g.

hædə	'to eat'
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(iii) Verbal nouns without any infinitive suffix can also be used as infinitives.

bærebar	'to travel'	gæbar	'to sing'
hōbar	'to speak'		

Perfective conjunctives, conditional conjunctives and infinitives exist in Chittagong Bengali too.

(a) As my data shows perfective suffixes are / -yere / and / -iyere / and / -i / in Chittagong Bengali. The suffixes / -yere / and / -iyere / are subject to phonological conditioning. The consonant-ending verb bases need / -iyere / and the rest need / -yere /. Examples are the following:

Examples with / -yere /

xayere	'having eaten'	gayere	'having sung'
xoyere	'having said'	d'uyere	'having washed'

Examples with / -iyere /

nasiyere	'having danced'	mariyere	'having killed'
xuliyere	'having opened'	xoriyere	'having done'
huniyere	'having heard'	φiriyere	'having returned'
xiniyere	'having bought'	xeliyere	'having played'
guniyere	'having counted'	d'oriyere	'having caught'
besiyere	'having sold'		

Examples with / -i /

nasi	'having danced'	xuli	'having opened'
xori	'having done'	ṭani	'having pulled'
ṭheli	'having pushed'		

(b) As my data shows the same conditional suffix / -ile / or / -ilæ / is also present in Chittagong Bengali. Examples are the following :

xelilæ (e)	'If (subject(s)) play / plays'
udilæ (e)	'If (subject(s)) climb up / climbs up'
namilæ (e)	'If (subjects(s)) climb down / climbs down'
nasilæ (e)	'If (subject(s)) dance / dances'
unilæ (e)	'If (subject(s)) hear / hears'
d ₃ agilæ (e)	'If (subject(s)) awake / awakes'

On the basis of my data, it is to be noted that there is only one way to construct infinitives in Chittagong Bengali. The infinitive suffixes are / -tyæ / and / -ṭyæ /. The former is used after verb bases ending in vowels and the latter is used after verb bases ending in consonants.

Examples with / -tyæ /

xaytyæ	'to eat'	xoytyæ	'to speak'
gaytyæ	'to sing'		

Examples with / -ṭyæ /

xeyltyæ	'to play'	ṭoytṭyæ	'to read'
naystyæ	'to dance'	xoytṭyæ	'to do'

If the verb root ends in / -r /, the root final / -r / is assimilated to the following / t / e.g.

ṭoyrtyæ > ṭoytṭyæ 'to read', xoyrtyæ > xoytṭyæ 'to do' etc.

3.3.9 FORMATION OF NEGATIVE

Negatives are formed by the two negative particles / nɔ / and / ney / and the negative verb / nɔy /.

(a) Negative Particles

(i) The negative particle / nɔ / is placed before the verb forms irrespective of person, number and gender. In negative formation no difference is observed in the present perfective and past perfective.

(ii) The negative particle / ney / “is not, are not, have not” is used in the opposite sense of / agæ / “there is, there are, has/have”.

(b) Negative Verb

The negative verb / noy / is used in all persons and numbers in the present tense.

In Chittagong Bengali, there are two negative particles / no / and / nay /. Rangamati Chakma shows similarity to Chittagong Bengali having two negative particles. The negative particle / no / is used to negate verb forms including the perfective categories. In both the finite and non-finite verbs, this negative particle is always followed by the main verbs as in Rangamati Chakma. The other negative particle / nay / of Chittagong Bengali corresponds to / ney / in Rangamati Chakma.

The negative verb / noy / of Rangamati Chakma is not affected by the change of person and number but the negative verb / no- / of Chittagong Bengali is affected. The forms of Chittagong Bengali are shown below:

First person singular	:	noy
First person plural	:	noy
Second person singular (familiar)	:	noʃ
Second person singular (ordinary)	:	no
Second person singular (honorific)	:	non
Second person plural (familiar)	:	noʃ
Second person plural (ordinary)	:	no
Second person plural (honorific)	:	non
Third person singular	:	no
Third person plural	:	no

3.4.0 COMPARISON OF KOLKATA CHAKMA AND RANGAMATI CHAKMA

No structural differences are noticed in number. Only tense manifests differences while comparing the morphological structure of Kolkata Chakma with that of Rangamati Chakma. In Kolkata Chakma the following paradigmatic categories of finite verbs viz. simple past, present perfective and past perfective have been merged into a single category whereas in Rangamati Chakma we have two categories : (1) simple past and (2) present and past perfective. Here to indicate present and past perfective the same inflectional category of finite verbs is used.

CHAPTER – 4

Syntax

4.1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at dealing with a brief outline of the syntax of Kolkata Chakma. For the sake of comparison, attempts have also been made to draw a brief outline of the syntax of Rangamati Chakma with reference to the similarities with Chittagong Bengali.

4.2.0 AN OUTLINE OF THE SYNTAX OF KOLKATA CHAKMA

4.2.1 WORD ORDER

As to the word order of Chakma spoken in and around Kolkata, some important features are presented below :

(1) Basically, Chakma sentences are of SOV (Subject + Object + Verb) pattern, e.g.,

- (62) thaə tha(r) nanuræ tʃidi lægær
 (subject) (indirect object) (direct object) (verb)
 (he) (his) (grandmother-acc.) (letter) (write-pre. impf. 3rd sg.)
 “He is writing a letter to his grandmother.”

- (63) muy iyan tharæ dim
 (subject) (direct object) (indirect object) (verb)
 (I) (it) (to him) (give-future ind. 1st. sg.)
 “I shall give it to him.”

- (64) mɔ(r) bhey ukkwɔ horin mad₃d₃iye
 (subject) (object) (verb)
 (my) (brother) (one) (deer) (kill-past. ind. 3rd. sg.)
 “My brother killed one deer.”

- (65) baba mɔre iba / ibyæ diye
 (subject) (indirect object) (direct object) (verb)
 (father) (to me) (it) (give-past. ind. 3rd. sig.)
 “Father gave it to me.”

- (66) *muy bhat hem* "I shall eat rice."
 (subject) (object) (verb)
 (I) (rice) (eat-future ind. 1st sg.)
- (67) *thæ monire xobita sunar*
 (subject) (indirect object) (direct object) (make one hear-pre. impf. 3rd sg.)
 (he) (Moni-gen.) (poem)
 "She is reading a poem to Moni."
- (68) *ram matl hay* "Ram eats fish."
 (subject) (object) (verb)
 (Ram) (fish) (eat-pre. ind. 3rd sg.)

But for giving emphasis on a particular word, the normal word order can be sometimes altered, e.g.,

- (69) *thæ lægær manuræ tʃidi*
 (subject) (verb) (indirect object) (direct object)
 (he) (write-pre. impf. 3rd sg.) (grandmother-acc.) (letter)
 "He is writing a letter to his grandmother."
- (70) *baba diye iba / ibyæ mœre*
 (subject) (verb) (direct object) (indirect object)
 (father) (give-past ind. 3rd sg.) (it) (to me)
 "Father gave it to me."

The above examples show that the object has been given more importance and hence it occupies the sentence-final position. Thus the usual sentence pattern can be modified or changed.

(2) A sentence generally consists of two parts : subject and predicate. The subject generally occurs first and then the predicate.

- (71) *thæ¹ bhari xlantə* "He is very tired."
 (he) (very) (tired)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (72) *iyan mœr suri* "This is my knife."
 (this) (my) (knife)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (73) *thuy mœre dibe gœm hugur ditl*
 (you) (me) (two) (good) (dogs) (give-fut.imp.non.hon.)
 (subject) (predicate)
 "Give me two good dogs."

- (74) muy harore φadem "I shall send someone."
 (I) (someone) (send-future ind. 1st sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (75) thara maramari gottorj "They are fighting."
 (they) (fight) (do-pre. impf. 3rd pl.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (76) thæ æbo "He will come."
 (he) (come-future ind. 3rd sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (77) muy iyanore sigon gorim "I shall shorten it."
 (I) (it) (short) (do-future ind. 1st sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (78) muy thore bit[et] nɔ gɔrɔj "I do not believe you."
 (I) (you) (believe) (not) (do-pre. ind. 1st sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (79) φattorbuwɔ φanit dubi dɜay
 (stone-def.) (water-loc.) (sinks-pre. ind. 3rd sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
 "The stone sinks in the water."
- (80) moni thɔ(r) bon "Moni is your sister."
 (Moni) (your) (sister)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (81) garjan durɔt "The river is away."
 (river-def.) (away-)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (82) muy hɔda hɔrɔr "I am talking."
 (I) (word) (speak-pre. impf. 1st sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (83) thæ siyɔt boy age "He is sitting there."
 (he) (there) (sit-pre. impf. 3rd sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (84) thæ mɔre hæbatte hoye "He asked me to eat."
 (he) (me) (eat-inf.) (ask-past. ind. 3rd sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)

- (85) iba / ibyæ thər bæɡ nəy "This is not your bag."
 (this) (your) (bag) (not)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (86) ɸattərɸuɸə ũzu "The rock is high."
 (rock-def.) (high)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (87) muy ɸore thore sem "I shall see you later."
 (I) (later) (you) (see-future ind. 1st sg.)
 (subject) (predicate)
- (88) muy idu "I am here."
 (I) (here)
 (subject) (predicate)

(3) Verbless sentences are available in Kolkata Chakma. For example, the present tense forms (both singular and plural) of the verb "to be" are left out as in the following :

- (89) thæ mə(r) muzi "She is my aunt."
 (she) (my) (aunt)
- (90) moni tha(r) bon "Moni is his sister."
 (Moni) (his) (sister)
- (91) iyan həddur "How far is it?"
 (it) (how far)
- (92) thə(r) adaman hudu "Where is your village?"
 (your) (village-def.) (where)
- (93) ey dʒagayan ɡəm nəy "This place is not good."
 (this) (place-def.) (good) (not)
- (94) ey dʒagayan dol "This place is good."
 (this) (place-def.) (good)
- (95) muy idu "I am here."
 (I) (here)
- (96) muy lamba "I am tall."
 (I) (tall)
- (97) ɸhɸran bhari ũzu "The house is very high."
 (house-def.) (very) (high)
- (98) thæ ar muy idu "He and I are here."
 (he) (and) (I) (here)

- (99) ghəran garɲ ɸarət "The house is on the bank of the river."
 (house-def.) (river-gen.) (bank-loc.)
- (100) thæ bhari xlantə "He is very tired."
 (he) (very) (tired)
- (101) moni tho(r) bon "Moni is your sister."
 (Moni) (your) (sister)
- (102) garɲan durət "The river is away."
 (river-def.) (away)
- (103) ɸattərbuwə ũzu "The rock is high."
 (rock-def.) (high)
- (104) ram buddiman ɸuwə "Ram is an intelligent boy."
 (Ram) (intelligent) (boy)
- (105) ami satrə "We are students."
 (we) (student)
- (106) thæ salak "He is intelligent."
 (he) (intelligent)
- (107) thuy bhari ʂətan "You are very naughty."
 (you) (very) (naughty)
- (108) boybuwə mər "The book is mine."
 (book-def.) (mine)
- (109) iba / ibyæ har goru "Whose cow is this?"
 (this) (whose) (cow)
- (110) iba / ibyæ mər goru "This is my cow."
 (this) (my) (cow)
- (111) iyan har suri "Whose knife is this?"
 (this) (whose) (knife)
- (112) iyan mər suri "This is my knife."
 (this) (my) (knife)
- (113) iyan mər huɣəl "This is my axe."
 (this) (my) (axe)
- (4) In imperative sentences the subject is generally omitted.
- (114) ɸani də "Give (me) water."
 (water) (give-pre ,imp.non-hon.)

- (115) idu nɔ eytʃ "Don't come here."
 (here) (not) (come-fut.imp.non-hon.)
- (116) mɔ huɔlan madi ubɔræ tho
 (my) (axe-def.) (ground) (on) (put-pre.imp.non.hon.)
 "Put my axe on the ground."
- (117) tho huɔlan ɸattɔrɔ thole nɔ thotʃ
 (you) (axe-def.) (stone-gen.) (under) (not) (put-fut.imp.non.hon.)
 "Don't put your axe under the stone."
- (118) dʒadi dʒadi hɔda nɔ hotʃ
 (fast) (word) (not) (talk-fut.imp.non.hon.)
 "Don't talk so fast."
- (119) tharæ hɔ arɔ hizu darbuwɔ andæ
 (him) (speak-pre.imp.non.hon.) (more) (some) (word.def.) (bring-inf.)
 "Tell him to bring some more wood."
- (120) iyot dāɾa "Stand here."
 (here) (stand-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (121) idu ay "Come here."
 (here) (come-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (122) ghɔrɔt dʒa "Go home."
 (home-loc.) (go-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (123) bhidiɾe ay "Come in."
 (in) (come-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (124) dɔrɔdʒayan hul "Open the door."
 (door-def.) (open-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (125) redɔt nɔ nigilitʃ "Don't go out at night."
 (night-loc.) (not) (go out-fut.imp.non.hon.)
- (126) hɔbmɯwɔ dæ "Give (me) the pen."
 (pen-def.) (give-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (127) mɔræ daŋɔr gatʃʃun nɔ ɸaditʃ "Don't send me big plants."
 (me) (big) (plant-pl.) (not) (send-future imp.non.hon.)
- (5) It is not obligatory to change the usual position of the verb in an interrogative sentence.
- (128) thay dʒɔr "You are going."
 (you) (go-pre.impf.2nd.sg)

- (129) thuy hi d₃or "Are you going?"
 (you) (interrogative particle) (go-pre.impf.2nd.sg.)
 In both of the sentences, the main verb / d₃or / occurs word-finally.
 Some more examples are the following where the verbs occur in the word-final position :
- (130) thæ mər ladibuwə niye
 (he) (my) (stick-def.) (take-past.ind.3rd.sg.) Assertive sentence
 "He took my stick."
- (131) hōnna mər ladibuwə niye
 (who-sg.) (my) (stick-def.) (take-past.ind.3rd.sg.) Interrogative sentence
 "Who took my stick?"
- (132) thuy thare xəl₃xatat de₃kkot₃
 (you) (him) (kolkata-loc.) (see-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Assertive sentence
 "You saw him in Kolkata."
- (133) thuy thare hudu de₃kkot₃
 (you) (him) (where) (see-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Interrogative sentence
 "Where did you see him?"
- (134) thæ thare huḡlan diye
 (he) (him) (axe-def.) (give-past.ind.3rd.sg.) Assertive sentences
 "He gave him the axe."
- (135) thæ thare hitte huḡlan diye
 (he) (him) (why) (axe-def.) (give-fast.ind.3rd.sg.) Interrogative sentence
 "Why did he give him the axe?"
- (136) thuy tharare hoyot₃
 (you) (the_m) (tell-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Assertive sentence
 "You told them."
- (137) thuy hōkke tharare hoyot₃
 (you) (when) (the_m) (tell-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Interrogative sentence
 "When did you tell them?"
- (138) manut₃t₃juwə thōræ mad₃d₃e₃^{iy}
 (man-def.) (you) (hit-past.ind.3rd.sg.) Assertive sentence
 "The man hit you."
- (139) manut₃t₃juwə hi thōræ mad₃d₃e₃^{iy}
 (man-def.) (int.par.) (you) (hit-past.ind.3rd.sg.) Interrogative sentence
 "Did the man hit you?"

- (140) thuy thare age dekkot^{sg}
 (you) (him) (before) (see-past.ind.2nd_{sg}.non.hon.) Assertive sentence
 "You saw him before."
- (141) thu hi thare age dekkot^{sg}
 (you) (int.par.) (him) (before) (see-past.ind.2nd_{sg}.non.hon.) Interrogative sentence
 "Did you see him before?"
- (142) thuy iyan sunnot^{sg}
 (you) (this) (hear-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Assertive sentence
 "You heard this."
- (143) thuy hudu iyan sunnot^{sg}
 (you) (where) (this) (hear-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Interrogative sentence
 "Where did you hear this?"
- (144) thuy hoyot^{sg}
 (you) (say-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Assertive sentence
 "You said."
- (145) thuy hi hoyot^{sg}
 (you) (what) (say-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.) Interrogative sentence
 "What did you say?"
- (146) thare muy φuzor gorim
 (him) (I) (ask-future.ind.1st.sg.) Assertive sentence
 "I shall ask him."
- (147) thare hi muy φuzor gorim
 (him) (what) (I) (ask-future.ind.1st.sg.) Interrogative sentence
 "Shall I ask him?"
- (148) habaran ranna hoye
 (food-def.) (cook) (be-pre.perf.3rd.sg.) Assertive sentence
 "The food is cooked."
- (149) habaran hi ranna hoye
 (food-def.) (int.par.) (cook) (be-pre.perf.3rd.sg.) Interrogative sentence
 "Is the food cooked?"
- (150) agunan gom gori zolær
 (fire-def.) (well) (burn-pre.impf.3rd.sg.)
 "The fire is burning well."

- (151) agunan hi gom gori zəlær
 (fire-def.) (int.par.) (well) (burn-pre.impf.3rd.sg.)
 “Is the fire burning well?”

(6) Inflexion is added to the last noun when different nouns are linked together by the conjunction.

- (152) ram o ranir xub dukko hoye
 (Ram) (and) (Rani-gen.) (very) (sorrow) (be-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
 “Ram and Rani are very sad.”

Here the suffix / -r / is added to the final word i.e. ‘Rani’.

- (153) bina o rinar ukkwə hugur agæ
 (Bina) (and) (Rina-gen.) (one-def.) (dog) (have)
 “Bina and Rina have a dog.”

Here the suffix / -r / is added to the last noun i.e. ‘Rina’.

(7) When narration changes, the tense of the verb of the direct speech remains unchanged in the reported speech in Kolkata Chakma.

Direct Speech :

- (154) “šəmrət ʃəxe xoye zæ muy šəməgrə
 (king) (Ashoka) (say-past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (I) (whole)
 dəzət ʃanti esthaʃən goribatte saŋ”
 (country-loc.) (peace) (placing) (do-inf.) (want-pre.ind.1st.sg.)
 “The king Ashoke said, I want to bring peace to the whole country.”

Indirect Speech :

- (155) “šəmrət ʃəxe xoye zæ thæ šəməgrə
 (king) (Ashoka) (say-past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (he) (whole)
 dəzət ʃanti esthaʃən goribatte say”
 (country-loc.) (peace) (placing) (do-inf.) (want-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)
 “The king Ashoke said that he wanted to bring peace to the whole country.”

Here though the reporting or the principal verb is in the past tense i.e. / xoye / ‘said’, the present tense verb / saŋ / ‘want’ of the direct speech is not changed into the corresponding past tense in the indirect or reported speech.

Direct Speech :

- (156) thæ xoye zæ “ami hæbatte dʒæbɔ”
 (he) (say-past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (we) (eat-inf.) (go-future.ind.1st.pl.)
 “He said, We shall go to eat.”

Indirect Speech :

- (157) thæ xoye zæ thara hæbatte d₃æbaꝥ
(he) (say–past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (they) (eat–inf.) (go–future.ind.3rd.sg.)
“He said that they would go to eat.”

In both the sentences the verbs of the direct speech and the indirect speech are of the same tense i.e. both / d₃æbɔ / and / d₃æba / are in the present tense, though the principal verb / xoye / is in the past tense.

- (158) thæ xoye zæ muy iyanore hala gorim
 (he) (say-past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (I) (it) (blacken-future.ind.1st.sg.)
 He said, "I shall blacken it."

- (159) thæ xoye zæ thæ iyanore · hala goribo
 (he) (say—past.ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (he) (it . . .) (blacken—future.ind.3rd.sg.)
 “He said that he would blacken that.”

In the above two sentences, the principal verb is in the past tense. Here it is / xoye / 'said'. But the verbs / gorim / of the direct speech and / goribo / of the indirect speech are in the present tense.

(8) If more than one subject occurs in a sentence, the conjunction generally occurs before the last subject.

- (160) moni bani o diɸən ezettehille ɣhərət ɸiribak
(Mani) (Bani) (and) (Dipən) (tomorrow) (home-loc.) (return-future ind.3rd.pl.)
“Mani, Bani and Dipan will return home tomorrow.”

- (161) thuyar muy maramari goribo
(you) (and) (I) (fight–future ind. 1st.pl.)
“You and I shall fight.”

(9) In a complex sentence, the subordinate or dependent clause precedes the principal or independent clause or vice versa.

- (162) d₃æ d₃æbɔ thæ upɔhar φæbɔ
 (who) (go–future ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (prize) (get–future ind.3rd.sg.)
 (Subordinate clause) (Principal clause)
 “He who goes will get a prize.”

- (163) d₃xə eytʃ yə thæ φiri d₃i yə
 (who) (come–past.ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (go back–past.ind.3rd.sg.)
 (Subordinate clause) (Principal clause)
 “He who came has gone back.”

- (164) thæ sur god₃d₃e sittey bækkune mad₃d₃oŋ
 (he) (steal–past.ind.3rd.sg.) (therefore) (ཇི་ལྟར་གྱིས་) (beat–past.ind.3rd.pl.)
 (Principal clause) (Subordinate clause)
 “ All beat him because he had committed the theft.”

(10) A noun is preceded by an attributive adjective, its modifier.

- hala øeg ‘black bird’
 (black) (bird)
 el øada ‘green leaf’
 (green) (leaf)

Possessive adjectives can also be used as determiners before noun heads e.g.

- mø(r) muzi ‘my aunt’
 (my) (aunt)
 tho(r) ma ‘your mother’
 (your) (mother)
 mø(r) mada ‘my head’
 (my) (head)
 tho(r) han ‘your ear’
 (your) (ear)
 thōma hanani ‘your (pl.) ears’
 (your) (ear–pl.)
 tharar bap ‘their father’
 (their) (father)
 ama nekkun ‘our husbands’
 (our) (husband–pl.)
 tha(r) nek ‘her husband’
 (her) (husband)

(11) The interrogative particle / hi / ‘what’ normally occurs in the ^{sentence} medial position.

- (165) thuy hi d₃or “Are you (sg) going?”
 (you–sg.) (int.par.) (go–pre.impf.2nd.sg.non-hon.)
 (166) thuy hi æd₃or “Are you (sg) coming?”
 (you–sg.) (int.par.) (come–pre.impf.2nd.sg.non-hon.)

4.2.2 LINKING CONSTRUCTIONS

In Kolkata Chakma, different clauses in sentences are linked together by two ways:

(A) Coordination, and (B) Subordination

(A) Coordination

As my data shows Chakma of Kolkata possesses the following coordinating conjunctions.

(i) The conjunctions / ar /, / o / 'and' and / ɔthoba / 'or' join both noun phrases and independent clauses, e.g.,

(167) gadʒor ɸol ar gaŋɔr matʃ
(tree-gen.) (fruit) (and) (river-gen.) (fish)
"Fruits of trees and fishes of river."

(168) muy boy agɔŋ ar haŋɔr
(I) (sit-pre.impf.1st.sg.) (and) (eat-pre.impf.1st.sg.)
"I am sitting and eating."

lina ɔthoba bina "Lina or Bina"
(Lina) (or) (Bina)

(169) muy dʒem ɔthoba thæ æbo
(I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (or) (he) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
"I shall go or he will come."

(170) utɸol ar indu dʒæbak
(Utpal) (and) (Indu) (go-future ind.3rd.pl.) "Utpal and Indu will go."

(171) thæ ar muy idu "He and I are here."
(he) (and) (I) (here)

(172) ukkwə milyæ ar ukkwə manutʃ zuri banar
(one-def.) (woman) (and) (one-def.) (man) (basket) (make-pre.impf.3rd.pl.)
"A man and a woman are making a basket."

(173) thuy ar muy maramari goribə
(you) (and) (I) (fight-future ind.1st.pl.)
"You and I will fight."

(ii) The conjunction / hintu / or / halik / 'but' and / xarɔn / 'because' are used to connect two independent clauses, not two noun phrases e.g.

(174) muy dʒem hintu / halik muy nɔ them
(I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (but) (I) (not) (stay-future ind.1st.sg.)
"I shall go but I shall not stay."

(B) Subordination

As per my data subordinating conjunctions of Kolkata Chakma are / dʒodi sale /

thale / 'if then', / nɔ-hɔle / 'otherwise, otherthan', / dʒate / or / dʒenettey /, / dʒiyanɔtte / 'that is why', and / sitte / or / senettey / 'hence', 'therefore', e.g.

- (175) dʒodi hey nɔ ɸarɔtʃ sale / thale ɸele ditʃ
 (if) (eat) (not) (can^{2nd.sg.non.hon.}) (if) (throw away-fut.imp^{2nd.sg} non-hon)
 "Throw it away if you can't eat it."

- (176) muy dʒodi horin degɔŋ thale ukkwɔ horin marim
 (I) (if) (deer) (see-pr.e. ind.1st.sg.) (then) (one-def.) (deer) (kill-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "I shall shoot a deer if I see one."

- (177) muy dʒodi thare degɔŋ^{1st.sg.} thare iyan di dim
 (I) (if) (him) (see-pr.e. ind.) (him) (it) (give-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "If I see him, I will give it to him."

- (178) thæ dʒodi adamɔt thay muy thare sebatte dʒem
 (he) (if) (village-loc.) (is) (I) (him) (see-inf.) (go-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "If he is in the village, I shall go to see him."

- (179) thuy dʒodi iyan rodɔt thɔtʃ thale iyan hala hoy zæbo
 (you) (if) (it) (in the sun) (leave) (then) (it) (will go black)
 "If you leave this in the sun it will go black."

4.2.3 SENTENCE TYPES

(A) Classification based on structure

According to the syntactic structure, sentences of Chakma spoken in Kolkata are classified into the following categories :

- (i) The simple sentence, and (ii) The conjunctive sentence

(i) The Simple Sentence

A simple sentence generally consists of one subject and one predicate and has only one finite verb. Example :

- (180) muy hɔbatte dʒem "I shall go to eat."
 (I) (eat-inf.) (go-future ind.1st.sg.)
 Subject Predicate Finite Verb

- (181) thuy thare age dekkotʃ "You saw him before."
 (you) (him) (before) (see-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 Subject Predicate Finite Verb

- (182) muy thare ɸuzɔr gorim "I shall ask him."
 (I) (him) (ask-future ind.1st.sg.)
 Subject Predicate Finite Verb

(183) muy ɸore thore sem "I shall see you later."

(I) (later) (you) (see-future ind. 1st.sg.)

Subject Predicate Finite Verb

(184) muy hoda hɔɔr "I am talking."

(I) (word) (talk-pre. impf. 1st.sg.)

Subject Predicate Finite Verb

The present observations take note of the fact that in a simple sentence, the subject is not as important as the predicate. Based on the above syntactical feature, simple sentences in Kolkata Chakma can be grouped into two categories : (a) binomial and (b) mononuclear.

(a) The binomial sentence

According to Bikova (1981 : 140) "it is the presence of the subject and the predicate that is the main feature of the binomial sentences — the feature that makes its structural distinction and opposes it to the mononuclear sentences." Chakma of Kolkata is characterised with the extensive use of the binomial sentences.

The binomial sentences may be of two types : (1) the nominal stences, and (2) the verbal sentence.

(1) The nominal sentence

A simple sentence without a copula is the characteristic feature of Kolkata Chakma.

(185) rani xalindi gæni guni o ʃot
(queen) (Kalindi) (intelligent) (talented) (and) (honest)

"The queen Kalindi is intelligent, talented and honest."

(186) garjan durɔt "The river is away."
(the river) (away)

(187) thæ mɔ(r) muzi "She is my aunt."
(she) (my) (aunt)

(188) moni thɔ(r) bon "Moni is your sister."
(Moni) (your) (sister)

(189) thumi ʃotan "You are naughty."
(you) (naughty)

In the above examples, the time reference is either present or past. In addition, we see a nominal predicate. These nominal sentences contain their constituting elements like the subject and the predicate.

(2) The verbal sentence

The existence of the copula forming the predicate makes it different from the nominal sentence.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------|---------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (190) | thæ | moræ | hæbatte | hoye | "He asked me to eat." |
| | (he) | (me) | (eat-inf.) | (ask-past ind.3rd.sg.) | |
| (191) | baba | møre | iba / ibyæ | diye | "Father gave it to me." |
| | (father) | (to me) | (it) | (give-past ind.3rd.sg.) | |
| (192) | rani | gan | gay | | "Rani sings." |
| | (Rani) | (song) | (sing-pre.ind.3rd.sg.) | | |
| (193) | thæ | deri | gori | æbø | "He will come late." |
| | (he) | (late) | (come-future ind.3rd.sg.) | | |
| (194) | muy | hōda | hōṇor | | "I am talking." |
| | (I) | (word) | (talk-pre.impf.1st.sg.) | | |

(b) The mononuclear sentence

In the binomial sentence whereas the subject rules, in the mononuclear sentence it is absent. So, in this respect, a binomial sentence is said to contrast with a mononuclear sentence where we observe the omission of subject-predicate distribution. Here the meaning of subject is implicit and it is inferred by the reader.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (195) | iyān | hi | gorilæ | | "What have you done." |
| | (this) | (what) | (do-pre.perf.2nd.sg.) | | |
| (196) | dōya | gori | idu | ay | "Please come here." |
| | (kindly) | | (here) | (come-pre.imp.non.hon.) | |
| (197) | nō | φarim | | | "I can't." |
| | (not) | (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) | | | |
| (198) | idu | nō | eytʃ | | "Don't come here." |
| | (here) | (not) | (come-future imp.non.hon.) | | |
| (199) | φani | dæ | | | "Give (me) water." |
| | (water) | (give-pre.imp.non.hon.) | | | |
| (200) | iyōt | dāṛa | | | "Stand here." |
| | (here) | (stand-pre.imp.non.hon.) | | | |
| (201) | hōlōmmuwō | dæ | | | "Give (me) the pen." |
| | (pen-def.) | (give-pre.imp.non.hon.) | | | |
| (202) | nō | gorim | | | "I can't do." |
| | (not) | (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) | | | |

(ii) The Conjunctional Sentence

(a) The complex sentence

(203) d₃odi hey nɔ ɸarotʃ sale/thale ɸele ditʃ
 (if) (eat) (not) (can-3rd.sg.non.hon.con.) (if) (throw) away-fut.imp.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Throw it away if you can’t eat it.”

(205) muy d₃odi thare degəŋ thare iyan di dim
(I) (if) (him) (see—future ind. 1st.sg.) (to him) (it) (give—future ind. 1st.sg.)
‘If I see him, I will give it to him.’

(207) d₃æ eytʃtʃyæ thæ ɸiri d₃iyæ
 (who) (come–past. ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (go back–past ind.3rd.sg.)
 “He who came has gone back.”

The compound sentence is distinguished from the complex sentence in that it has two or more simple or complex sentences coordinated by means of conjunctions.

- (208) adamən hay hintu gaŋan durət
 (village-def.) (close by) (but) (river-def.) (away)
 "The village is close by but the river is away."
- (209) mər gərəm lagər hintu thər thanda lagər
 (my) (hot) (feel-passive) (but) (your) (cold) (feel-passive)
 "I feel hot but you feel cold."
- (210) mə(r) huɣlan madi ubərə nə thə xarən
 (my) (axe-def.) (ground) (on) (not) (put-pre.imp.non.hon) (because)
 ramər ɸuwəbuwə bhari ʒətan
 (Ram-gen.) (son-def.) (very) (naughty)
 "Do not put my axe on the ground because Ram's son is very naughty."

(B) Classification based on meaning

Sentences are categorised into seven major syntactic classes performing different communicative functions. These are as follows :

(i) Indicative sentences, (ii) Interrogative sentences, (iii) Imperative sentences, (iv) Optative sentences, (v) Conditional sentences, (vi) Interjective sentences, and (vii) Dubitative sentences.

Examples are the following :

(i) **Indicative sentences** : All the sentences below express the following language function "stating a fact".

- (211) ramər ɸuwəbuwə ʒətan "Ram's son is naughty."
 (Ram-gen.) (son-def.) (naughty)
- (212) boybuwə mər "The book is mine."
 (book-def. (mine)
- (213) gaŋan durət "The river is away."
 (river-def.) (away)
- (214) ɸulomala tha(r) bon "Phulomala is his sister."
 (Phulomala) (his) (sister)
- (215) thə mə(r) muzi "She is my aunt."
 (she) (my) (aunt)

(ii) **Interrogative sentences** : All the sentences below express the following language function : "asking".

- (216) hōnna mōr ladibuwō niye "Who took my stick?"
 (who) (my) (stick-def.) (take-past.ind.3rd.sg.)
- (217) thuy hōkke ghōrōt d̥ziyot̪ "When did you go home?"
 (you) (when) (home-loc.) (go-past ind.2nd.sg.hon.non.)
- (218) thuy thare hudu de·kkot̪ "Where did you see him?"
 (you) (him) (where) (see-past.ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
- (219) thæ hudu "Where is he?"
 (he) (where)
- (220) iyan hi ʃottwō "Is this true?"
 (this) (what) (true)

(iii) Imperative sentences : All the sentences below express the following language function : "ordering"

- (221) φani dæ "Give (me) water."
 (water) (give-pre.imp.non-hon.)
- (222) idu nō eyt̪ "Don't come here."
 (here) (not) (come-future.imp.non.hon.)
- (223) idu ay ^{pre.} "Come here."
 (here) (come-imp.non.hon.)
- (224) dōrōd̥ʒayan hul ^{pre.} "Open the door."
 (door-def.) (open-imp.non.hon.)
- (225) hōlōmmuwō dæ ^{pre.} "Give me the pen."
 (pen-def.) (give-imp.non.hon.)

(iv) Optative sentences : Optative sentences have the following function : "expressing a wish."

- (226) thomar d̥ʒoy hok "May you win."
 (you-pl.gen.) (win) (be-opt.)
- (227) it̪t̪ōr thōr mōŋgōl xōruk "God bless you."
 (God) (you-^{sg.}gen.) (bliss) (do-opt.)

(v) Conditional sentences : The sentences below express the following language function : "expressing condition."

- (228) monika æle thæ muy d̥ʒem
 (Monika) (come-con.) (then) (I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "If Monika comes (then) I shall go."

- (229) thuy d₃odi idu that₁ sale muy them
 (you) (if) (here) (stay-com.) (then) (I) (stay-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
 (230) læhaɸɔɾa gorile thæ thuy ɸayd₃ goribi
 (studies) (do-con.) (then) (you) (press) (do-future ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “You will pass only if you study.”

(vi) Interjective sentences : Interjective sentences are used to indicate exclamation :

- (231) si si e haman nɔ gorit₁
 (fie) (this) (work-def.) (not) (do-fut.imp.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Fie! Don’t do this work.”

- (232) a hi hɔr
 (oh) (what) (speak-pre.impf.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Ah! What are you saying?”

- (233) a iyan hi gorilæ
 (oh) (this) (what) (do-pre.perf.2nd.sg.)
 “Oh! What have you done?”

(vii) Dubitative sentences : Dubitative sentences are used to “express a doubt.”

- (234) ɸarabaŋ thæ nɔ æbɔ
 (possibly) (he) (not) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 “Possibly he will not come.”
 (235) hɔyto thara iskolɔt nɔ æbak
 (possibly) (thy) (school-loc.) (not) (cme-future ind.3rd.pl.)
 “Possibly they will not come to school.”

4.2.4 SENTENCE NEGATION

As already mentioned in 3.3.9, in Kolkata Chakma, the two negative particles / nɔ / and / ney / are used at the syntactic level for sentence negation. Interestingly, Chakma of Kolkata has the prevalent NEG + V word order i.e. to negate a sentence the negative marker / nɔ / is put before the inflected main verb.

Tense neutralisation in the use of / nɔ / features Chakma. Thus the negative marker / nɔ / is used in all the three tenses : present, past and future.

- (236) thæ idu nɔ eytɪtɪyæ “He did not come here.”
 (he) (here) (neg.par.) (come-past ind.3rd.sg.)
 NEG Verb

- (237) thæ nɔ æbo "He will not come."
 (he) (neg.par.) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 NEG Verb

It has already been mentioned in the section 3.3.9 that / ney / is used to negate a sentence to deny any kind of possession. The negative verb / nøy / has a wide use in Kolkata Chakma.

Some more negative sentences of Kolkata Chakma are the following :

- (238) ibyæ thər bækkuwɔ nøy "This is not your bag."
 (this) (your) (bag-def.) (neg.verb)
- (239) thæ haro sɔmare hɔda hoy nɔ ɸare 3rd.sg
 (he) (anybody) (with) (word) (neg.par) (do-pre.ind.)
 "He cannot speak to anybody."
- (240) thər hi hono bon ney "Have you no sister?"
 (you) (what) (any) (sister) (neg.par.)
- (241) muy thəre bitʃtʃet nɔ gɔrɔŋ "I do not believe you."
 (I) (you) (believe) (neg.par) (do-pre.ind. 1st.sg.)
- (242) muy thare age nɔ dække "I did not see him before."
 (I) (him) (before) (neg.par.) (see-past.ind. 1st.sg.)
- (243) thæ thar ɸuwɔbuwɔre nɔ ɸadebo
 (he) (his) (son-def.gen.) (neg.par.) (send-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 "He will not send his son."
- (244) thæ thomare sebatte nɔ æzæ
 (he) (you) (see-inf.) (neg.par.) (come-past.ind.3rd.sg.)
 "He did not come to see you."
- (245) ami dizɔne thɔma dizɔnɔr ɸitʃtʃe ɸitʃtʃe nɔ dʒey
 (we) (two) (your) (two persons.gen.) (behind)(neg.par) (go-past.ind. 1st. pl.)
 "We (two) did not follow you (two)."
- (246) thara amare mari nɔ ɸarɔŋ
 (they) (us) (hit-perf.) (neg.par.) (can-past.ind.3rd.pl.)
 "They could not hit us."
- (247) thar oy milebuwɔ lɔgæ hɔda hɔna thik nøy
 (your) (that) (woman-def.) (with) (talk) (proper) (neg.verb.)
 "It is not proper for you to talk to him."

4.3.0 A BRIEF SYNTACTICAL DESCRIPTION OF RANGAMATI CHAKMA

This present section aims at highlighting the ordering of sentential elements in sentences of Rangamati Chakma with reference to the syntactical features of Chittagong Bengali as and when required.

4.3.1 WORD ORDER

Word ordering is of great importance in Rangamati Chakma as well as in Chittagong Bengali. Examples are given below :

(1) Rangamati Chakma is a SOV speech basically.

- (248) thæ monire xobita ʃunar
(subject) (indirect object) (direct object) (verb)
(he) (Moni-gen.) (poem) (make one hear-pre.impf.3rd sg.)
“He is reading a poem to Moni.”

- (249) muy b’at hem
(subject) (object) (verb)
(I) (rice) (eat-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
“I shall eat rice.”

- (250) muy thare boybuwə diluŋ
(subject) (indirect object) (direct object) (verb)
(I) (him) (book-def.) (give-past.ind.1st.sg.)
“I gave him the book.”

- (251) muy iyan tharæ dim
(subject) (direct object) (indirect object) (verb)
(I) (it) (to him) (give-future ind.1st.sg.)
“I shall give it to him.”

Chittagong Bengali, too, is a SOV language, e.g.

- (252) āy boy φori
(subject) (object) (verb)
(I) (book) (read-pre.impf.1st.sg.)
“I am reading a book.”

- (253) āy iyan itare diyum
(subject) (direct object) (indirect object) (verb)
(I) (it) (him) (give-future ind.1st.sg.)
“I shall give it to him.”

(254) baba	iyān	āre	diye
(subject)	(direct object)	(indirect object)	(verb)
(father)	(it)	(to me)	(give-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
“Father has given it to me.”			

(2) Generally a sentence comprises the subject and the predicate in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Some examples from Rangamati Chakma :

(255) iyan	mər	suri	“This is my knife.”
(this)	(my)	(knife)	
(subject)	(predicate)		
(256) thuy	ʃotan		“You are naughty.”
(you)	(naughty)		
(subject)	(predicate)		
(257) thæ	æbo		“He will come.”
(he)	(come-future ind. 3rd sg.)		
(subject)	(predicate)		

Some examples from Chittagong Bengali :

(258) iba	ār	boy	“This is my book.”
(this)	(my)	(book)	
(subject)	(predicate)		
(259) itay	aybo		“He will come.”
(he)	(come-future ind.3rd.sg.)		
(subject)	(predicate)		
(260) moni	xobita	ḡorer	“Mani is reading a poem.”
(Moni)	(poem)	(read-pre.impf.3rd.sg.)	
(subject)	(predicate)		
(261) āy	ēḡe		“I am here.”
(I)	(here)		
(subject)	(predicate)		

(3) Verbless sentences are also observed in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

(262) moni	tha(r)	bon	“Moni is his sister.”
(Moni)	(his)	(sister)	

(263) muy	idu		"I am here."
(I)	(here)		
(264) muy	lamba		"I am tall."
(I)	(tall)		
(265) boybuwə	mər		"The book is mine."
(book-def.)	(mine)		
(266) iyan	mər	suri	"This is my knife."
(this)	(my)	(knife)	

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

(267) φul	ibya	lundor	"This flower is beautiful."
(flower)	(this)	(beautiful)	
(268) moni	itar	bon	"Moni is his sister."
(Moni)	(his)	(sister)	
(269) āy	lamba		"I am tall."
(I)	(tall)		
(270) iyan	ār	xəlm	"This is my pen."
(this)	(my)	(pen)	
(271) nodi	ibya	dure	"This river is away."
(river)	(this)	(away)	
(272) itay	salak		"He is clever."
(he)	(clever)		

(4) In imperative sentences, subject is generally left out in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

(273) φani	də		"Give me water."
(water)	(give- ^{pre} imp.non-hon.)		
(274) idu	nə	eytʃ	"Don't come here."
(here)	(not)	(come- but imp.non-hon.)	
(275) iyət	daɾa		"Stand here."
(here)	(stand-pre.imp.non.hon.)		
(276) idu	ay		"Come here."
(here)	(come-pre.imp.non.hon.)		
(277) g'ərət	dʒa		"Go home."
(home-loc.)	(go-pre.imp.non.hon.)		

- (278) dərɔdʒayan hul "Open the door."
 (door-def.) (open-pre.imp.non.hon.)

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (279) ɸani dæ "Give water."
 (water) (give^{pre}-imp.non-hon.)
- (280) ēɖe ay "Come here."
 (here) (come-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (281) g'ɔrɔt ay "Come in."
 (home-loc.) (come-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (282) barit za "Go home."
 (home-loc.) (go-pre.imp.non.hon.)
- (283) dərɔdʒayan xul "Open the door."
 (door-def.) (open-pre.imp.non.hon.)

(5) In interrogative sentences normal position of the verb is retained in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

- (284) thuy dʒɔr
 (you) (go-pre.impf.2nd.sg.)
 "You are going." (Assertive sentence)
- (285) thuy hi dʒɔr
 (you) (interrogative particle) (go-pre.impf.2nd.sg.)
 "Are you going?" (Interrogative sentence)
- (286) thæ mɔr ladibuwɔ niye
 (he) (my) (stick-def.) (take-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
 "He has taken my stick." (Assertive sentence)
- (287) hɔnna mɔr ladibuwɔ niye
 (who) (my) (stick-def.) (take-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
 "Who has taken my stick?" (Interrogative sentence)
- (288) thæ thare huɣlan diye
 (he) (him) (axe-def.) (give-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
 "He has given him the axe." (Assertive sentence)
- (289) thæ thare hitte huɣlan diye
 (he) (him) (why) (axe-def.) (give-pre.perf.3rd.sg.)
 "Why has he given him the axe?" (Interrogative sentence)

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (290) tuy zər
(you) (go–pre.impf.2nd.sg)
“You are going.” (Assertive sentence)
- (291) tuy xi zər
(you) (interrogative particle) (go–pre.impf.2nd.sg.)
“Are you going?” (Interrogative sentence)
- (292) tuy xər
(you) (eat–pre.impf.2nd.sg)
“You are eating.” (Assertive sentence)
- (293) tuy xi xər
(you) (interrogative particle) (eat–pre.impf.2nd.sg.)
“Are you eating?” (Interrogative sentence)
- (294) āy ɪtare dʒiggayum
(I) (him) (ask–future.ind.1st.sg.)
“I shall ask him.” (Assertive sentence)
- (295) āy ɪtare xi dʒiggayum
(I) (him) (what) (ask–future.ind.1st.sg.)
“Shall I ask him?” (Interrogative sentence)

(6) When a conjunction joins several nouns, the inflexion is mainly added to the last noun in Rangamati Chakma.

- (296) bina o rinar ukkwə hugur agə
 (Bina) (and) (Rina-gen.) (one-def.) (dog) (have)
 "Bina and Rina have a dog."

Here the genitive suffix / -r / is added to the last noun, i.e. 'Rina'.

In Chittagong Bengali also we observe the same syntactical feature, e.g.,

- (297) bina ar rinar uggwa xutta ase
 (Bina) (and) (Rina-gen.) (one-def.) (dog) (have)
 "Bina and Rina have a dog."

(7) When the direct speech is reported in the indirect speech, the tense of the direct speech do not change to match the reporting or principal verb in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

(298) Direct Speech :

(299) Indirect Speech :

Here both the verbs / saŋ / and / say / are in the present tense.

(300) rina xoye ze ãy xæla xoyrgum
 (Rina) (speak–past ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (I) (play) (do–future ind.1st.sg.)
 “Rina said, “I shall play.”

(301) rina xoye zæ ɪtay xæla xoribo
 (Rina) (speak—past ind.3rd.sg.) (that) (she) (play) (do—future ind.3rd.sg.)
 “Rina said that she would play.”

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

(302) moni bani o diɸən ezettehille g'ərət ɸiribak
 (Mani) (Bani) (and) (Dipan) (tomorrow) (home-loc.) (return-future ind.3rd.pl.)
 "Mani, Bani and Dipan will return home tomorrow."

(303) thæ ar muy idu agæ “He and I are here.”
 (he) (and) (I) (here) (are)

(304) tinu ar nolin xaluya φiribo
 (Tinu) (and) (Nalin) (tomorrow) (return-future ind.3rd.pl.)
 "Tinu and Nalin will return tomorrow."

- (305) ram ar ãy xoyrgun
 (Ram) (and) (I) (do-future ind.2nd.pl.)
 "Ram and I shall do."

(9) In a complex sentence, the principal clause precedes the subordinate clause or vice versa in Rangamati Chakma as well as in Chittagong Bengali.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma

- (306) thare hebatte holuŋ d3enette thar ʃoriran ʃustɔ 'oy
 (him) (eat-inf.) (speak-past ind.1st.sg.) (so that) (his) (health-def.) (improved) (be-future ind.)
 (Principal clause) (Subordinate clause)
 "I asked him to eat so that he could improve his health."

- (307) d3æ d3æbo thæ upɔʔar φæbo
 (who) (go-future ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (prize) (get-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 (Subordinate clause) (Principal clause)
 "He who goes will get a prize."

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (308) itare xayte xoylam zataæ itay b'alo thake
 (him) (eat-inf.) (speak-past ind.1st.sg.) (so that) (he) (healthy) (remain-pre.ind.)
 (Principal clause) (Subordinate clause)
 "I asked him to eat so that he would remain healthy."

- (309) d3æ zaybo itay upɔʔar φaybo
 (who) (go-future ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (prize) (get-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 (Subordinate clause) (Principal clause)
 "He who goes will get a prize."

(10) Possessive or attributive adjectives occur just before the noun in Rangamati Chakma. In Chittagong Bengali also this feature is found.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

hala	φeg	'Black bird'	el	φada	'Green leaf'
(black)	(bird)		(green)	(leaf)	
mɔ(r)	muzi	'My aunt'	thɔ(r)	ma	'Your mother'
(my)	(aunt)		(your)	(mother)	
tha(r)	nek	'Her husband'			
(her)	(husband)				

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

xalo	rɔŋ	'Black colour'	nil	axaʃ	"Blue sky"
(black)	(colour)		(blue)	(sky)	
ār	ma	"My mother"	ārār	xɔləm	"Our pen"
(my)	(mother)		(our)	(pen)	

(11) The interrogative particle generally occurs in the sentence-medial position in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali. / hi / and / xi / are two interrogative particles in Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali respectively.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

- (310) thuy hi dʒɔr "Are you (sg.) going?"
 (you-sg.) (int.par.) (go-pre.impf.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
- (311) thuy hi æzɔr "Are you (sg.) coming?"
 (you-sg.) (int.par.) (come-pre.impf.2nd.sg.)

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (312) thuy xi xabi "Will you (sg.) eat?"
 (you-sg.) (int.par.) (eat-future ind. 2nd.sg.non.hon.)
- (313) thuy xi zabi "Will you (sg.) go?"
 (you-sg.) (int.par.) (go-future ind.2nd.sg.non.hon.)

4.3.2 LINKING CONSTRUCTIONS

Two classes of linking constructions are observed in Rangamati Chakma— (A) Coordination, and (B) Subordination.

(A) Coordination :

(i) According to my data the coordinating conjunctions / ar /, / o / 'and', and / ɔthoba / 'or' are used to join together both phrases and clauses in Rangamati Chakma.

- (314) gadʒɔr ɸɔl ar gaŋɔr matʃ
 (tree-gen.) (fruit) (and) (river-gen.) (fish)
 "Fruits of trees and fishes of river."
- (315) muy boy agɔŋ ar haŋɔr
 (I) (sit-pre.impf.1st.sg.) (and) (eat-pre.impf.1st.sg.)
 "I am sitting and eating."
- (316) muy dʒem ɔthoba thæ æbɔ
 (I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (or) (he) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 "I shall go or he will come."

(ii) As my data shows, the coordinating conjunctions / hintu / or / halik / 'but' and / xarɔn / 'because' are needed to connect two clauses only, e.g.

- (317) muy dʒem hintu / halik muy nɔ them
 (I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (but) (I) (not) (stay-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "I shall go but I shall not stay."

(B) Subordination :

According to my data subordinating conjunctions of Rangamati Chakma are / dʒodi sale / thale / 'if then', / nɔʔole / 'otherwise, 'other than', / dʒate /, / dʒenettey /, / dʒiyanɔtte / 'that is why', / sitte /, / senettey / 'hence', 'therefore'.

- (318) muy dʒodi ʔorin degɔŋ thale ukkwɔ ʔorin marim
 (I) (if) (deer) (see-prɛ.ind.1st.sg.) (then) (one-def.) (deer) (kill-future ind.1st.sg.)
 "I shall shoot a deer if I see one."

- (319) dʒodi hey nɔ ɸarɔtʃ sale / thale ɸele ditʃ
 (if) (eat) (not) (can-3rd.sg.non.hon.) (if) (throw away-3rd.sg.non.hon.)
 "Throw it away if you can't eat it."

Like Rangamati Chakma, Chittagong Bengali makes use of (A) Coordination and (B) Subordination.

(A) Coordination

As my data shows the coordinating conjunctions of Chittagong Bengali are the following: / ar / 'and', / ximba / 'or', / xarɔn / 'because', / xintu / 'but'.

Examples :

- (320) ʃona ar mona xaluya ɸiribo
 (Sona) (and) (Mona) (tomorrow) (return-future ind.3rd.pl.)
 "Sona and Mona will return tomorrow."
- (321) ma ar āy xaybo
 (mother) (and) (I) (eat-future ind.1st.pl.)
 "My mother and I shall eat."
- (322) āy zayum ximba bon aybo
 (I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (or) (sister) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
 "I shall go or (my) sister will come."
- (323) bani ar āy ēde
 (Bani) (and) (I) (here)
 "Bani and I are here."

(B) Subordination

As per my data, subordinating conjunctions of Chittagong Bengali are the following: /
zate / 'that is why', / zodi / 'if'.

- (324) itare xayte xoylam zate itay b'alo thake
(him) (eat-inf.) (speak-past ind.1st.sg.) (so that) (he) (healthy) (remain-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)
"I asked him to eat so that he would remain healthy."
- (325) d3æ zaybo itay boy φaybo
(who) (go-future ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (book) (get-future ind.3rd.sg.)
"He who goes will get a book."

4.3.3 SENTENCE TYPES

(A) Classification based on structure

In Rangamati Chakma, there are two types of sentences :

- (i) The simple sentence, and (ii) The conjunctive sentence

In Chittagong Bengali too, we get the above two types of sentences.

(i) The Simple Sentence

One subject and one predicate are the components of a simple sentence. It possesses only one finite verb in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma

- (326) muy hɔbatte d3em "I shall go to eat."
(I) (eat-inf.) (go-future ind.1st.sg.)
Subject Predicate Finite Verb
- (327) muy thare φuzor gorim "I shall ask him."
(I) (him) (ask-future ind.1st.sg.)
Subject Predicate Finite Verb
- (328) muy φore thore sem
(I) (later) (you) (look after-future ind.1st.sg.)
Subject Predicate Finite Verb
"I shall look after you later."

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (329) āy xam xorir "I am doing (the) work."
(I) (work) (do-pre.impf.1st.sg.)
Subject Predicate Finite verb

(330)	itara	bar i	zaybo	"They will go to house."
	(they)	(house)	(go-future ind.3rd.pl.)	
	Subject	Predicate	Finite Verb	
(331)	itara	iskulot	zar	"They ^{are going} to school."
	(they)	(school-loc.)	(go-pre.impf.3rd.pl.)	
	Subject	Predicate	Finite Verb	

Simple sentences of Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali are of two types : (a) binomial, (ii) mononuclear

(a) **The binomial sentence**

(1) **The nominal sentence**

The copula is absent in a nominal sentence in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Examples :

Rangamati Chakma	Chittagong Bengali
(332) thæ mɔ(r) muzi	itay ār maji
(she) (my) (aunt)	(she) (my) (aunt)
"She is my aunt."	"She is my aunt."
(333) thuy ʃɔtan	tuy duʃɔ
(you) (naughty)	(you) (naughty)
"You are naughty."	"You are naughty."

(2) **The verbal sentence**

In a verbal sentence, the copula is present in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Rangamati Chakma	Chittagong Bengali
(334) rani gan gay	rani gan gay
(Rani) (song) (sing-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)	(Rani) (song) (sing-pre.ind.3rd.sg.)
"Rani sings."	"Rani sings."
(335) thæ æbo	itay aybo
(he) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)	(he) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)
"He will come."	"He will come."
(336) muy hɔda hɔɲɔr	āy xɔta xoyr
(I) (word) (talk-pre.impf.1st.sg.)	(I) (word) (talk-pre.impf.1st.sg.)
"I am talking."	"I am talking."

(b) The mononuclear sentence

In a mononuclear sentence, subject is absent in both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

Rangamati Chakma	Chittagong Bengali
(337) nɔ ɸarim (not) (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) "I can't."	nɔ ɸayrgum (not) (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) "I can't."
(338) ɸani də (water) (give-pre.imp.non.hon.) "Give (me) water."	ɸani de (water) (give-pre.imp.non.hon.) "Give (me) water."
(339) nɔ gorim (not) (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) "I can't do."	nɔ xoyrgum (not) (do-future.ind.1st.sg.) "I can't do."

(ii) The conjunctive sentence

The conjunctive sentences of Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali are of two types : (a) the complex sentence, and (b) the compound sentence.

(a) The complex sentence

In a complex sentence, more than one finite verb exist.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

- (340) dʒodi hey nɔ ɸarɔtʃ sale/thale ɸele ditʃ
(if) (eat) (not) (can-2nd.sg.non.hon.con) (if) (throw away-fut.imp.3rd.sg.non.hon.)
"Throw it away if you can't eat it."
- (341) thæ dʒodi adamɔt thay muy thare sebatte dʒem
(he) (if) (village-loc.) (be-3rd.sg.non.hon.) (I) (him) (see-inf.) (go-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
"If he is in the village, I shall go to see him."

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (342) ze aʃʃil itay giye goy
(who) (come-past.ind.3rd.sg.) (he) (go back-past.ind.3rd.sg.)
"He who had come went back."
- (343) zodi xɔʃ toʒole zaybo
(if) (say-fut.ind.2nd.sg.) (them) (go-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
"If you (say) give permission then I shall go."

(b) The compound sentence

In a compound sentence, two or more simple or complex sentences are conjoined by conjunctions.

Examples from Rangamati Chakma :

- (344) adamən hay hintu garjan durət
(village-def.) (close by) (but) (river-def.) (away-def.)

“The village is close by but the river is away.”

- (345) mə(r) huɣlan madi uboræ nɔ tho xarən
(my) (axe-def.) (ground) (on) (not) (put-imp.) (because)
ramər ɸuwɔbuwɔ b'ari ʃotan
(Ram-gen.) (son-def.) (very) (naughty)

“Do not put my axe on the ground because Ram’s son is very naughty.”

Examples from Chittagong Bengali :

- (346) āy xoyrgum xintu itay nɔ xoribwɔ
(I) (do-fut.ind.1st.sg.) (but) (he) (not) (do-fut.ind.3rd.sg.)

“I shall do but he will not do.”

- (347) āy zayum ximba itay aybwɔ
(I) (go-future ind.1st.sg.) (or) (he) (come-future ind.3rd.sg.)

“I shall go or he will come.”

(B) Classification based on meaning

Simple sentences of both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali are categorised into seven major syntactic classes performing different communicative functions. These are as follows :

(i) Indicative sentences, (ii) Interrogative sentences, (iii) Imperative sentences, (iv) Optative sentences, (v) Conditional sentences, (vi) Interjective sentences, and (vii) Dubitative sentences.

Examples :

Indicative sentences

Rangamati Chakma

- (348) thuy ʃotan
(you) (naughty)

“You are naughty.”

- (349) thæ mə(r) muzi
(she) (my) (aunt)

“She is my aunt.”

Chittagong Bengali

- tuy duʃɔ
(you) (naughty)

- itay ār maji
(she) (my) (aunt)

(350) muy lamba
 (I) (tall)
 "I am tall."

āy lōmba
 (I) (tall)

(351) thara matʃ nɔ hay ɪtara mas nɔ xa
 (they) (fish) (not) (eat-pre.ind.3rd.pl.) (they) (fish) (not) (eat-pre.ind.3rd.pl.)
 "They do not eat fish."

Interrogative sentences

(352) thæ hudu
 (he) (where)
 "Where is he?"

ɪtay xōdɛ
 (he) (where)

(353) iyan hi ʃottwɔ
 (this) (int.par.) (true)
 "Is this true?"

iyān xī ʃottwɔ
 (this) (int.par.) (true)

(354) thuy həkke g'ərɔt dʒiyotʃ tuy xɔ̃tɛ g'ərɔt geyli
 (you) (when) (home-loc.) (go-past ind.2nd.sg.) (you)(when) (home-loc.)(go-past ind.2nd.sg.)
 "When did you go home?"

(355) thuy thare hudu deykkotʃ tuy ɪt are xōdɛ deykkili
 (you) (him) (where) (see-past ind.2nd.sg.) (you) (him) (where) (see-past ind.2nd.sg.)
 "Where did you see him?"

Imperative sentences

(356) φani dæ ^{pre.}
 (water) (give-imp.non-hon.)
 "Give (me) water."

φani de ^{pre.}
 (water) (give-imp.non-hon.)

(357) idu ay ^{pre.}
 (here) (come-imp.non.hon.)
 "Come here."

ēdɛ ay ^{pre.}
 (here) (come-imp.non.hon.)

(358) dərɔdʒayan hul ^{pre.}
 (door-def.) (open-imp.non.hon.)
 "Open the door."

dərɔdʒayan xul ^{pre.}
 (door-def.) (open-imp.non.hon.)

Optative sentences

(359) thomar dʒɔy ʔok
 (your) (win) (be-opt.)
 "May you win."

thorar zoy ʔok
 (your) (win) (be-opt.)

(360) itʃɔr thər mɔŋgɔl xərək
 (God) (your) (bliss) (do-opt.)
 "God bless you."

iffɔr tər mɔŋgɔl xərək
 (God) (your) (bliss) (do-opt.)

Conditional sentences

- (361) monika æle ^{con.} thæ monika ayle ^{con.}
 (Monika) (come-fut.ind.3rd.sg.) (then) (Monika) (come-fut.ind.3rd.sg.)
 muy d₃em tō-²yle āy zayum
 (I) (go-fut.ind.1st.sg.) (then, in that case) (I) (go-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
 “If Monika comes (then) I shall go.”
- (362) thuy d₃odi idu that̚ tuy zodi ēde thaki̚
 (you) (if) (here) (stay-con.) (you) (if) (here) (stay-con.)
 sale muy them āy tō-²le thaykkum
 (then) (I) (stay-fut.ind.1st.sg.) (I) (then, in that case) (stay-fut.ind.1st.sg.)
 “If you stay here, I shall also stay.”
- (363) læhaɸɔɾa gorile thæ thuy læhaɸɔɾa xoylle tō-²le tuy
 (studies) (do-con.) (then) (you) (studies) (do-con.mar.) (then) (you)
 ɸayd₃ goribi ɸa̚ xori^{ind.}
 (pass) (do-fut.2nd.sg.non.hon.) (pass) (do-fut.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “You will pass only if you study.”

Interjective sentences

- (364) si si e haman si si e xam
 (fie) (this) (work-def.) (fie) (this) (work)
 nɔ gorit̚ nɔ xorit̚
 (not) (do-fut.imp.2nd.sg.non.hon.) (not) (do-fut.imp.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Fie! Don’t do this work.”
- (365) a. hi hɔr a xi xɔɾɔr
 (oh) (what) (do-pre.impf.2nd.sg.non.hon.) (oh) (what) (do-pre.impf.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Oh! What are you doing?”
- (366) a iyan hi gorilæ a iyan xi xoylle
 (oh) (this) (what) (do-pre.perf.2nd.sg.non.hon.) (oh) (this)(what)(do-pre.perf.2nd.sg.non.hon.)
 “Oh! What have you done?”

Dubitative sentences

- (367) ɸarabaŋ thæ nɔ æbɔ ²yto itay nɔ aybwɔ
 (possibly) (he) (not) (come-fut.ind.3rd.sg.) (possibly) (he) (not) (come-fut.ind.3rd.sg.)
 “Possibly he will not come.”
- (368) ²yto thara iskolot ²yto thara iskolot
 (possibly) (they) (school-loc.) (possibly) (they) (school-loc.)
 nɔ æbak nɔ aybwɔ
 (not) (come-fut.ind.3rd.pl.) (not) (come-fut.ind.3rd.pl.)
 “Possibly they will not come to school.”

4.3.4 SENTENCE NEGATION

Rangamati Chakma shows NEG + V word order. Here the negative particles are / nɔ / and / ney /. To cause negation of sentences, the negative particle / nɔ / precedes the main verb. This particle is also used in the present, past and future tenses. In addition to this, / nɔy /, the negative verb is observed in Chakma spoken in Rangamati for sentence negation.

In sentence negation Chittagong Bengali is like Rangamati Chakma, as the former also shows NEG + V word order.

Examples :

Rangamati Chakma				Chittagong Bengali			
(369)	muy	nɔ	gorim	ãy	nɔ	gorim	
	(I)	(not)	(do-fut.ind. 1st.sg.)	(I)	(not)	(do-fut.ind. 1st.sg.)	
	"I shall not do."						
(370)	muy	thore	bitʃtʃetʃ	ãy	tore	biʃʃaʃ	
	(I)	(you)	(belief)	(I)	(you)	(belief)	
	nɔ	gɔrɔŋ		nɔ	xori		
	(not)	(do-pre.ind. 1st.sg.)		(not)	(do-pre.ind. 1st.sg.)		
	"I do not believe you."						
(371)	muy	thare	age	ãy	ĩtara	age	
	(I)	(him)	(before)	(I)	(him)	(before)	
	nɔ	degilak		nɔ	deykki		
	(not)	(see-past.ind. 1st.sg.)		(not)	(see-past.ind. 1st.sg.)		
	"I did not see him before."						

4.4.0 COMPARISON OF KOLKATA CHAKMA AND RANGAMATI CHAKMA

As regards the syntactical structures of both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, it can be said that they show no significant differences at this level.

CHAPTER – 5

Observations on Linguistic Acculturation and Language Attitude

5.1.0 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter tries to find out how far the Chakmas in and around Kolkata have been acculturated¹ or influenced in their speech by Standard Colloquial Bengali. In addition, what Chakmas are thinking about their mother tongue presently, is also discussed in this chapter.

The whole matter is organized into three parts :

- a) Influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali on Kolkata Chakma in comparison with Rangamati Chakma.
- b) Maintenance and shift of Chakma in different domains, and,
- c) Language attitude.

5.2.0 LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION

Presently, the Chakmas of Kolkata and its adjoining areas have little or no contact with their original homeland. The older generations have strong feelings for their mother tongue while the latter generations have less mental attachment for their own community, specially for their mother tongue owing to their cosmopolitan living in an alien land. Constant code-mixing and code-switching in different domains to facilitate communication, are the indicators of their bidialectal or bilingual competence and also signal that a change in their use of language is underway. Chakmas use Bengali in different social arenas. Different unavoidable factors are active which encourage the use of Bengali even in intra and inter group communication. Their exposure to Bengali results in their social-cultural progress ^{or} advancement. It appears from the present observation that linguistically Chakmas tend to identify themselves with the target language group i.e. the Bengali speech community using the standard variety. In a different socio-linguistic contexts in and around Kolkata, most of

the Chakmas are in favour of Standard Colloquial Bengali with a specific role. So, Chakma, their own speech is not used in their day-to-day life in many domains. Dominance of the Standard Colloquial Bengali language and culture over Chakma and their narrow or no social distance from the Bengali speech community have already given rise to displacement of some of the Chakma traits in their linguistic habits. All these entail borrowing or linguistic changes at different levels of language.

5.2.1 INFLUENCE OF STANDARD COLLOQUIAL BENGALI ON KOLKATA CHAKMA

5.2.1.1 Phonological Level

In Kolkata Chakma, the following phonological changes i.e. replacement and loss of certain phonological features have been observed due to the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali. Examples are the following :

(i) Both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma possess voiced aspirated stops / bh, dh, gh / whereas in Rangamati Chakma voiced implosives / b', d', g' / are present.

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali ²	Glosses
b'æɾa	bhæɾa	bhæɾa	'sheep'
b'ɔnb'ɔn	bhɔnbhɔn	bhɔnbhɔn	'humming'
b'aggiɔ	bhaggiɔ	bhaggo	'fortune'
b'ara	bhara	bhara	'rent'
b'ul	bhul	bhul	'mistake'
b'æptʃa	bhæptʃa	bhæptʃa	'sultry hot'
b'ot	bhot	bhoʈ	'vote'
b'aza	bhaza	bhadʒa	'fried'
b'ut	bhut	bhut	'ghost'
b'ey	bhey	bhai	'brother'
b'eyzi	bheyzi	bhaidʒhi	'brother's daughter'
b'eyɸut	bheyɸut	bhaipo	'brother's son'
b'ey bo	b'hey bo	bhai bou	'brother's wife'
b'arot	bharot	bharot	'India'
b'ɔrɔza	bhɔrɔza	bhɔroʃa	'depend'
b'it̪	bhit̪	bhit̪	'crowd'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
b'an̥ya	bhaŋa	bhaŋa	'broken'
b'uy	bhũy	bhũi	'land'
b'at	bhat	bhat	'rice'
b'ap	bhap	bhap	'steam'
b'ar	bhar	bhar	'weight'
b'et	bhet	bheṭ	'presentation'
b'aluk	bhaluk	bhalluk	'bear'
lab'	labh	labh	'gain, profit'
b'ag	bhag	bhag	'divide'
b'ezur	bhezur	bhaʃur	'husband's elder brother'
b'agidar	bhagidar	bhagidar	'partner'
b'aŋ	bhaŋ	bhaŋ	'hemp'
b'ad̥ʒa	bhad̥ʒa	bhad̥ʒa	'fried'
b'adr̥ mat̥ʃ	bhad̥r̥ mat̥ʃ	bhad̥r̥ maʃ	'the fifth month of the Bengali, Chakma year'
b'ari	bhari	bhari	'heavy'
b'inno	bhinno	bhinno	'separate'
b'idire	bhidire	bhitore	'inside'
b'ugol	bhugol	bhugol	'geography'
b'ulana	bhulana	bhulano	'mislead'
b'ezal dæna	bhezal dæna	bhed̥ʒal deṇa	'to adulturate'
b'ezal	bhezal	bhed̥ʒal	'adulturation'
b'ɔŋra	bhɔŋra	bhomra	'bumble-bee'
b'ɔda	bhɔ̃da	bhōda	'blunt'
b'id̥ʒana	bhid̥ʒana	bhed̥ʒano	'to wet'
b'agina	bhagina	bhagne	'sister's son'
b'agini	bhagini	bhagni	'sister's daughter'
b'okti	bhokti	bhokti	'devotion'
b'ɔkto	bhɔkto	bhɔkto	'devotee'
b'ɔdr̥	bhɔdr̥	bhɔdr̥	'gentle'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
b'əbəlila	bhəbəlila	bhəbəlila	'earthly life'
b'əra	bhəra	bhəra	'plenty'
b'aga b'agi	bhaga bhagi	bhaga bhagi	'mutual settlement of share'
d'an	dhan	dhan	'paddy'
d'əmmokəmmo	dhəmmokəmmo	dhərmokəmmo	'religious duty'
d'atu	dhatu	dhatu	'metal'
d'anket	dhanket	dhankhet	'paddy field'
d'ənubiddya	dhənubiddya	dhənuridda	'art of archery'
d'ənb'aggiyo	dhənbhaggiyo	dhənobhaggo	'luck for wealth'
d'ənniyəbad	dhənniyəbad	dhənnobad	'thanks giving'
d'ən	dhən	dhən	'wealth'
d'əba	dhəba	dhoba	'washerman'
d'əmək	dhəmək	dhəmək	'scolding'
d'əmmo	dhəmmo	dhəmmo	'religion'
d'əmmog'ət	dhəmmog'ət	dhərmoghəʈ	'strike'
d'əmmoφrosar	dhəmmoφrosar	dhərmoprotʃar	'preaching of religion'
d'ənnyo	dhənnyo	dhənnno	'honoured, blessed'
d'ənu	dhənu	dhənu	'bow'
d'əmkani	dhəmkani	dhəmkani	'scold'
d'ə'mmoguru	dhəmmoguru	dhərmoguru	'spiritual guide'
d'ərana	dhərana	dhəra	'to catch'
d'əni	dhəni	dhəni	'wealthy'
d'əna	dhəna	dhəna	'wash'
d'ənədebi	dhənədebi	dhənədebi	'the goddess of wealth'
d'əmmoφət	dhəmmoφət	dhərmopəth	'path of religion'
d'əmmogyan	dhəmmogyan	dhərmogən	'knowledge of religion'
dəmmotʃətʃa	dhəmmotʃətʃa	dhərmotʃətʃa	'religious duty / practices'
d'anlagana	dhanlagana	dhanlagano	'to sow paddy'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
d'anmaṛana	dhanmaṛana	dhan maṛai	'to thrash paddy'
d'abadæna	dhabadaæna	dhaða kora	'to run after'
d'yan	dhyan	dhæn	'meditation'
d'yan gorana	dhyan gorana	dhæn kora	'to meditate'
d'ar	dhar	dhar	'sharpness'
d'arona	dharona	dharona	'idea'
d'ullya	dhullya	dhulo	'dust'
d'udi	dhudi	dhuti	'loin cloth'
d'omməbəl	dhəmməbəl	dhərmobəl	'power of morality'
d'umketu	dhumketu	dhumketu	'comet'
g'ər	ghər	ghər	'room, house'
g'era	ghera	ghera	'fencing'
g'uḷimarana	ghuḷimarana	ghuḷimara	'strike one with the clenched fist'
g'urni	ghurni	ghurni	'whirling'
g'am	gham	gham	'sweat'
g'amana	ghamana	ghamana	'to sweat'
g'ayel	ghayel	ghaël	'wounded'
g'abarana	ghabarana	ghabṛano	'perplex'
g'abeṛey d₃ana	ghabeṛey d₃ana	ghabṛe d₃aða	'to be perplexed'
g'uṛi	ghuṛi	ghuṛi	'kite'
g'utʃ	ghutʃ	ghuʃ	'bribery'
g'utʃ lona	ghutʃ lona	ghuʃ neða	'take a bribe'
g'um	ghum	ghum	'sleep'
g'um d₃ana	ghum d₃ana	ghumano	'to sleep'
g'utʃkor	ghutʃkor	ghuʃkhor	'who takes bribe'
g'amod₃i	ghamod₃i	ghamatʃi	'prickly heat'
g'əɳɔɔl	ghəɳɔɔl	ghəɳophəl	'cubical area'
g'orgiritti	ghərgiritti	ghərgerosti	'household affairs'
g'ugni	ghugni	ghugni	'a kind of curry'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
g'ɔza g'ɔzi	ghɔza ghɔzi	ghɔʃa ghɔʃi	'rubbing'
g'a	gha	gha	'sore'
g'ira	ghira	ghera	'enclosed'
g'irana	ghirana	ghera	'to enclose'
g'uŋur	ghuŋur	ghuŋur	'anklet'
g'aɽ d'akka	ghaɽ dhakka	ghaɽ dhakka	'pushing one out by the shoulder'
g'ɔrsaɽa	ghɔrsaɽa	ghɔɽʃhaɽa	'renounce the duties and responsibilities of a householder'
g'ɔnattyami	ghɔnattyami	ghoniʃʃhɔta	'intimacy'
g'in	ghin	ghenna	'disgust / hatred'
g'ɔr ʃunya	ghɔr ʃunya	ghɔr kuno	'homesick'
g'i	ghi	ghi	'ghee'
g'ɔrʃɔŋʃar	ghɔrsɔŋsar	ghɔrʃɔŋʃar	'household life'
g'ɔɽi	ghɔɽi	ghɔɽi	'watch'

The glottal stop / ʔ / exists in Rangamati Chakma whereas in both SCB and Kolkata Chakma the glottal fricative / h / is present.

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ʔat	hat	hat	'hand'
ʔaɽ	haɽ	haɽ	'bone'
ʔadu	hãʃu	hãʃu	'knee'
ʔona	hɔna	hɔɔa	'to be'
ʔolot	holot	holud	'turmeric'
ʔatʃ	hãtʃ	hãʃ	'duck'
ʔoy	hɔy	hɔẽ	'is, to be'
ʔottyál	hottyál	horitoki	'Myrobalan' (tree or fruit)
ʔutʃ	hũtʃ	hũʃ	'sense'
ʔidʒeb	hidʒeb	hiʃab	'account, calculation'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ʔamana	hamana	hāitola	'yawn'
ʔal	hal	hal	'plough'
ʔoran	hōran	hōʔran	'harassed'
ʔonuman	hōnuman	honuman	'monkey'
ʔar	har	har	'neklace'
ʔodʒom	hōdʒom	hōdʒo m	'digestion'
ʔodʒom gōrana	hōdʒom gōrana	hōdʒom kōra	'digest'
ʔaba	haba	haḍa	'air'
ʔodana	hōdana	hōʔano	'drive back, defeat'
ʔa	hā	hā	'opening'
ʔelaḥela	helaḥela	həlapḥəla	'negligence'
ʔa gōrana	hā gōrana	hā kōra	'to open'
ʔani	hani	hani	'loss'
ʔimmət	himmət	himmət	'boldness'
ʔeməntə	heməntə	hemonto	'late autumn'
ʔiŋʃyæ	hiŋsyæ	hiŋʃa	'jealousy'
ʔazira	hazira	hadʒira	'attendance'
ʔat thulana	hat thulana	hat tola	'to raise hand'
ʔat dəna	hat dəna	hat deḥa	'to give one's hand to'
ʔade xələme	hade xələme	hate kələme	'practically'
ʔidʒeb gōrana	hidʒeb gōrana	hiʃeb kōra	'calculate'
ʔidʒeb dəna	hidʒeb dəna	hiʃeb deḥa	'render an account'
ʔidʒebi	hidʒebi	hiʃebi	'prudent, calculating'
ʔuditʃ	huditʃ	hodiʃ	'trace'
ʔuditʃ ḥana	huditʃ ḥana	hodiʃ paḥa	'to know the trace'
ʔugum	hugum	hukum	'order'
ʔugum gōrana	hugum gōrana	hukum kōra	'to give order'
ʔugumnama	hugumnama	hukumnama	'warrant'

It is noticed that some speech sounds which are fricatives in Rangamati Chakma become non-fricatives in Kolkata Chakma. As a result of this kind of sound change i.e. despirantisation

the voiced alveolar fricative / z / is replaced by the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [d₃], and also voiceless bilabial fricative [φ] by voiceless bilabial plosive [ph]. Some words of Kolkata Chakma are being subject to this kind of change. As, this phenomenon is manifested in the speech of the young generation, two forms for a single word are marked. Examples are given in the following :

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
zanla	zanla d ₃ anla	d ₃ anla	'window'
zal	zal d ₃ al	d ₃ al	'net'
zila	zila d ₃ ila	d ₃ ela	'district'
ʔazar	hazar had ₃ ar	had ₃ ar	'thousand'
b'aza	bhaza bhad ₃ a	bhad ₃ a	'fried'
b'ezal	bhezal bhed ₃ al	bhæd ₃ al	'adulteration'
b'ezal dæna	bhezal dæna bhed ₃ al dæna	bhæd ₃ al deŋa	'to adulterate'
φirana	φirana phirana	phera	'come back'
φiɽiŋ	φiɽiŋ phiɽiŋ	phoɽiŋ	'grasshopper'
φulhobi	φulhobi phulhobi	phulkopi	'cauliflower'
φogir	φogir phogir	phokir	'monk begger'
φol	φol phol	phol	'fruit'
φad ₃ alami	φad ₃ alami phad ₃ alami	phad ₃ alami	'precocity'
φul	φul phul	phul	'flower'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
φena	φena phena	phæna	'foam'
φerot	φerot pherot	pherot	'return, refund'
φirana	φirana phirana	phera	'come back, return'

It is also noticed that the substitution of the Rangamati velar fricative [x] by the velar plosive [k] in Kolkata Chakma i.e. despirantisation is on the way. Henceforth, two pronunciations of a single word (with [x] or [k] word-initially) are traced in some words.

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
xōmana	xōmana kōmana	kōmano	'to reduce, to lessen'
xudin	xudin kudin	kudin	'evil day, hard time'
xudum	xudum kudum	kuṭum	'relative'
xutxuthōni	xut ^h xuthōni kut ^k kuthōni	kuṭkuṭani	'irritation, itching'
xubana	xubana kubana	kupono	'to dig up'
xu	xu ku	ku	'bad, evil, unauspicious'
xul	xul kul	kul	'shore, bank (of river) dynasty, race'
xumeru	xumeru kumeru	kumeru	'south pole'
xumari	xumari kumari	kumari	'young girl, virgin'
xendro	xendro kendro	kendro	'centre'
xinara	xinara kinara	kinara	'edge'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
xirthiman	xirthiman kirthiman	kirtiman	'famous, glorious'
xaydeya	xaydeya kaydeya	kaṛḍa	'trick'
xaydeya	xaydeya gorana kaydeya gorana	kaṛḍa kora	'to trick'
xala φani	xala φani kala φani	kalapani	'sea'
xalboyd ₃ egi	xalboyd ₃ egi kalboyd ₃ egi	kalboiḥakhi	'a kind of storm'
xalabazar	xalabazar kalabazar	kalobad ₃ ar	'black market'
xarbar	xarbar karbar	karbar	'business, trade'
xarigor	xarigor karigor	karigor	'handicraft man'
xarbari	xarbari karbari	karbari	'businessman'
xamṛana	xamṛana kamṛana	kamṛano	'to bite'
xamani	xamani kamani	kamano	'earning'
xabu	xabu kabu	kabu	'weak'
xazari	xazari kazari	kachari	'law-court'
xaṇjal	xaṇjal kaṇjal	kaṇjal	'poor, needy'
kaṇjali	xaṇjali kaṇjali	kaṇjali	'begger woman, poor woman'
koliza	xoliza kō liza	kolid ₃ a	'heart'
xōbul	xōbul kōbul	kobul	'acknowledgement, confession'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
xəɹzuri	xəɹzuri kəɹɹzuri	kəɹɹɹori	'weakness'
xəɹzur	xəɹzur kəɹɹzur	kəɹɹɹor	'weak'
xobi	xobi kobi	kobi	'poet'
xobi gun	xobi gun kobi gun	kobi gun	'poetic quality'
xobiguru	xobiguru kobiguru	kobiguru	'chief of the poets'
xobita	xobita kobita	kobita	'poem'
xobiradɹ	xobiradɹ kobiradɹ	kobiradɹ	'ayurvedic practitioner'
xəɹɹlana	xəɹɹlana kəɹɹlana	kəɹɹlano	'wash by rubbing, squeeze'

Though the retroflex sounds [ɸ, ɸh, d, dɸ] are absent in Rangamati Chakma, these are often clearly articulated by some of the Chakmas of Kolkata mainly by the young generation. This kind of cerebralisation is found¹² a large number of words.

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
thəɸbəɸ	ɸəɸbəɸ	ɸəɸbəɸ	'word denoting the sound of the boiling water'
thəɸ	ɸəɸ	ɸəɸ	'top'
ɸag	ɸak	ɸak	'baldness'
thaɸana	ɸaɸana	ɸaɸano	'hang up'
thanathani	ɸanaɸani	ɸanaɸani	'pulling in opposite direction'
therɸana	ɸerɸana	ɸerpaɸa	'come to know'
thəɸməɸ	ɸəɸməɸ	ɸəɸməɸ	'word denoting an unsteady or tossing motion'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
tholmɔlani	ʈolmɔlani	ʈolmɔlani	'unsteady or tossing motion'
tholmɔl gorana	ʈolmɔl gorana	ʈolmɔl kora	'to tremble, to shake unsteadily'
thogana	ʈogana	ʈokano	'to deceive, to cheat'
thagur	ʈagur	ʈakur	'god, deity'
thigana	ʈigana	ʈikana	'address'
thigthag	ʈigthag	ʈikʈhak	'exact, accurate'
thig	ʈig	ʈik	'correct, accurate'
thig gorana	ʈig gorana	ʈik kora	'to set right, to adjust'
thigthag gorana	ʈigthag gorana	ʈikʈhak kora	'to arrange properly, keep everything in order'
thigya	ʈigya	ʈika	'contracted, hired'
thelatheli	ʈelaʈheli	ʈælaʈheli	'jostling'
thelatheli gorana	ʈelaʈheli gorana	ʈælaʈheli kora	'to push and shove'
thela dæna	ʈela dæna	ʈæla deða	'to give a push'
thela marana	ʈela marana	ʈæla mara	'to give a push'
dɔdʒɔn	ɖɔdʒɔn	ɖɔdʒɔn	'dozen'
dɔlana	ɖɔlana	ɖɔla	'to rub, to tread'
daget	ɖaget	ɖakat	'decoit'
dagbakʃu	ɖagbaksu	ɖak bakʃo	'post box'
dageti	ɖageti	ɖakati	'dacoity'
dageti gorana	ɖageti gorana	ɖakati kora	'to commit dacoity, plunder'
dalim	ɖalim	ɖalim	'pomegranate tree or its fruit'
diŋana	ɖiŋana	ɖiŋano	'to jump over'
diŋi	ɖiŋi	ɖiŋi	'boat'
dub	ɖub	ɖub	'to dive, to dip, to plunge into water'
dub marana	ɖub marana	ɖub mara	'to dive, to dip, to plunge'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
dubi d ₃ ana	ɖubi d ₃ ana	ɖube d ₃ aɔ̃a	'to sink'
dhagni	ɖhagni	ɖhakni	'cover'
dhal	ɖhal	ɖhal	'shield'
dhalana	ɖhalana	ɖhala	'to pour out'

As already mentioned in 2.2.2.4, unlike Rangamati Chakma, Kolkata Chakma shows a phonological peculiarity i.e. nasalization of vowels (in several words). Examples are the following :

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
uzunizu	ũzunizu	ũtʃunitʃu	'high and low'
hatʃ	hātʃ	hāʃ	'duck'
ɸatʃ	ɸātʃ	pātʃ	'five'
ʃidur	ʃīdur	ʃīdur	'vermilion'
d ₃ ok	d ₃ ōk	d ₃ ōk	'leech'
dat	dāt	dāt	'tooth'

The tendency to change [wɔ] to [o] and [yæ] to [e] or [æ] is growing among the young Chakma people. The lexis with [wɔ] and [yæ] have not yet been obsolete among the Chakma speakers of Kolkata. Therefore, some lexical items have [yæ] or [e] or [æ] and [wɔ] or [o] and convey the same meaning in Kolkata Chakma.

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
uguryæ	uguryæ ugure	upore	'upstairs'
bizyæ	bizyæ bize	bitʃhe	'scorpion'
mizyæ	mizyæ mize	mitthe	'false'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
likilikkyæ	likilikkyæ liklike(æ)	liklike	‘very slender’
ʃudwɔ	ʃudwɔ ʃudo	ʃuto	‘cotton’
ʃulwɔ	sulwɔ sulo	ʃolo	‘sixteen’
ʃud ₃ d ₃ wɔ	ʃud ₃ d ₃ wɔ ʃud ₃ d ₃ o	ʃurd ₃ o	‘sun’
nukwɔ	nukwɔ nuko	nouko	‘well’
ɸudwɔ	ɸudwɔ ɸudo	ɸuʃo	‘point’
ʃiddwɔ	ʃiddwɔ ʃiddo	ʃiddho	‘boiled’

The *heightening of vowel-height* is noticed when [æ] of Rangamati Chakma is changed to [e] in a few lexis in Kolkata Chakma. Interestingly, some words with both [e] and [æ] are noticed among the speech of the Chakmas. It signals that a phonological change under the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali is coming into existence in Kolkata Chakma. Examples,

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
thæɭ	thæɭ thel	tel	‘oil’
æbɔŋ	æbɔŋ ebɔŋ	ebɔŋ	‘and’
agæ	agæ age	age	‘before’
ɸæt	ɸæt ɸet	peʃ	‘belly’
dæzi	dæzi dezi	deʃi	‘homemade, countrymade’
dæbatta	dæbatta debatta	debatta	‘sacred, holy’

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
dæmak	dæmak demak	demak	'gravity'
dæna	dæna dena	dena	'debt'
dæborad ₃ a	dæborad ₃ a deborad ₃ a	deborad ₃ a	'the king of gods'
dærgun	dærgun dergun	dergun	'one and a half'
lætʃ	lætʃ letʃ	led ₃	'tail'
ræzom	ræzom rezom	reʃom	'silk'
dædar	dædar dedar	dedar	'profuse'
mæd ₃ atʃ	mæd ₃ atʃ med ₃ atʃ	med ₃ atʃ	'temper'

Again, the half-open vowel [ɔ] of Rangamati Chakma becomes half-close vowel [o] in some words in Kolkata Chakma due to the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali i.e. *heightening of the height of vowels* occurs. Here also two forms for a single lexical item co-exist. Examples are presented below :

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ækʃo	ækʃo ækʃo	ækʃo	'one hundred'
ægaro	ægaro ægaro	ægaro	'eleven'
ostro	ostro ostro	ostro	'weapon'
indro	indro indro	indro	'the king of heaven'
anondo	anondo anondo	anondo	'delight'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ɔnuman	ɔnuman onuman	onuman	'guess'
bandor	bandor bandor	bādor	'monkey'
həbor	həbor həbor	khəbor	'news'
gərom hal	gərom hal gərom hal	gərom kal	'summer'
ɔlɔŋxar	ɔlɔŋxar ɔlɔŋxar	ɔlɔŋkar	'ornament'
d'əmmo	dhəmmo dhəmmo	dhəmo	'religion'
d'əba	dhəba dhoba	dhopa	'washerman'
d'ərmə ma	dhəmmo ma dhəmmo ma	dhəmo ma	'sworn mother'

5.2.1.2 Morphological Level

The influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali on Kolkata Chakma at the morphological level is very much insignificant.

5.2.1.3 Syntactical Level

Similarly, no change is noticed at the syntactical level of Kolkata Chakma in comparison with that of Rangamati Chakma.

5.2.1.4 Lexical Level

New lexical items are borrowed from Standard Colloquial Bengali in Kolkata Chakma very frequently and their borrowing is an important linguistic phenomenon in the speech of the Chakmas of Kolkata. So, different Chakma words have been or are being lost in Kolkata Chakma. In other words, it can be said that the original Chakma words have been or are being replaced by Standard Colloquial Bengali words. Words having no equivalents in Standard Colloquial Bengali are also lost in Kolkata Chakma. Examples are the following :

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ɔd'ək	murgir baʃa	murgir baʃa	'hen's nest'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
ɔbarŋ	ʂomosto	ʂomosto	'all'
ɔlor	niʃtʃup	niʃtʃup	'silent'
ad ₃ er	kʰali	khali	'empty'
aduri	naʀibhūʀi	naʀibhūʀi	'intestines'
annya	d ₃ hul	d ₃ hul	'soot'
araŋa	d ₃ ɔlbɔʃonto	d ₃ ɔlbɔʃonto	'a kind of pox'
allyaŋ	ador	ador	'affection'
il	tripti	tripti	'satisfaction'
urotʃ	tʃharɸoxa	tʃharpoka	'bug'
uguri udana	tʃomke oʃha	tʃomke oʃha	'thrill, surprise'
xagoy	bāʃer tʃiruni	bāʃer tʃiruni	'comb made of bamboo'
xɔdamala	amloki	amloki	'amla'
xaruk xuruk	mɔtʃ mɔtʃe	mɔtʃmɔtʃe	'crispy'
xuduk	ʃɔd ₃ aru	ʃɔd ₃ aru	'porcupine'
xalloŋ	d ₃ huʀi	d ₃ huʀi	'basket'
xutʃ	pɔdotʃinno	pɔdotʃinno	'footmark'
xid ₃ iŋ	giripɔth	giripɔth	'pass, ravine'
xɔndal	batabi lebu	batabi lebu	'shaddock, pomelo'
xoddya	tʃitʃiŋga	tʃitʃiŋge	'a kind of vegetable'
xudana	ʃaper kamoʀ	ʃaper kamoʀ	'bite of a snake'
xɔzuɸoŋa	kotʃu phul	kotʃu phul	'flower of a kind of herb'
gud ₃ o	kūd ₃ o	kud ₃ o	'hump-backed'
gudu xara	haɖuɖu xæla	haɖuɖu khæla	'a kind of play'
guttya	mɔgotʃ	mɔgod ₃	'brain'
gorba	otithi	otithi	'guest'
d ₃ ala	dhaner tʃara	dhaner tʃara	'paddy seedling'
d ₃ aŋar	mortʃe	mortʃe	'rust'
thaba	—	—	'curry without oil'
tham	ʔad ₃ u badam	kad ₃ u badam	'cashewnut'
thuni	khūʃi	khūʃi	'post'

Rangamati Chakma	Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Glosses
thugur matʃ	magur matʃ	magur matʃ	'a kind of fish'
thagol	da	da	'chopper, bill-hook'
themmanɿ	alotʃona	alotʃona	'conversation'
diddari	birokto	birokto	'annoyed'
d'ok	ɽahuk	ɽahuk	'gallinule bird' (a kind of bird)
d'uruŋ	phāpa	phāpa	'hollow'
dula	—	—	'a kind of utensil for keeping fish'
d'o	—	—	'a kind of utensil for measuring rice'
d'uluk	—	—	'a kind of sharp blade'
dɔbaxadi	—	—	'a kind of big spood made of bamboo'
danɽanya	gatʃhin / brik ^k hohin	gatʃhin / brikkhohin	'treeless'
norli	ʃaʃnali	ʃaʃnali	'wind-pipe'
ɸaray	kuʃʃho	kuʃʃho	'leprosy'
ɸoy	—	—	'sharp spear made from bamboo'
bɔra	āʃi	āʃi	'bundle'
bare	—	—	'a kind of basket'
bizya	ʃukkit	ʃukki.ʃ	'hairy caterpillar'
menmeni	thankuni	thankuni	'a kind of herb'
midʒilik	cheledhɔra	cheledhɔra	'kidnapper'
rɔŋraŋ	dhɔneʃ pakhi	dhɔneʃ pakhi	'a kind of bird'
lura	mɔʃal	mɔʃal	'torch, flamebeam'
ludya matʃ	bele matʃ	bele matʃ	'a kind of fish'
sibidi	ʃun	tʃun	'lime'

5.2.2 MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT OF CHAKMA IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

The six domains, viz. (i) home, (ii) neighbourhood, (iii) friendship, (iv) worship, (v) education and (vi) work place have been taken into consideration to ascertain the maintenance and shift of Chakma by the particular group of Chakma under study along with some other social and linguistic factors. The survey was conducted on one hundred Chakma informants. Questionnaires³ have taken into account the information as to the respondents' age, sex, socio-economic background, education and occupation as these variables play an important role in their choice of language. The subject or topic under discussion, role-relationship and place where the communicative events take place also matter for deciding a language or languages to be used in a particular setting.

i) Home : Home is such a domain where everyone feels free to converse in his own mother tongue. But it is perceived from the observations that there is no strictness as regards the Chakmas' use of a language. So, often the Chakmas switch over to Bengali. As per the analysis 16.12% Chakma respondents report both Chakma and Bengali to be used in the domain of home. It is also noticed that the families living here for a considerable period of time have more favourable attitude towards Bengali. Comparatively the new immigrants mainly use Chakma at their home. The first group of Chakma use their native code mainly with grand parents and parents but not so much with their spouse and children. But in the case of the latter the use of Chakma in all role relations is high. Servants are employed in most of the Chakma houses. Here the use of language is governed by the fact whether the servants are Chakmas or non-Chakmas. If both the masters and servants are native speakers of Chakmas having good command over the language, then Chakma is used in this interaction network. Those who favour both Chakma and Bengali in writing letters to their near and dear ones constitute 9.67% and the rest use Bengali exclusively. Only 6.25% Chakmas from age group above 36 years return the use of Chakma script while writing letters and they use it not "always" but "sometimes". All the Chakmas of Kolkata are fully competent in both spoken and written Bengali.

(ii) Neighbourhood : From the analysis it is also found that in this domain the use of Chakma goes down as they have the Bengalees as neighbours. They get little or no chance at all to converse in Chakma as the use of Chakma hampers communication with the Bengalees who do not comprehend Chakma well. Still there are a lucky few who enjoy company of other Chakmas as neighbours. Here both the groups use their own linguistic code for effective communication.

(iii) Friendship : The Chakma respondents report Bengali to be used for cross-community interaction with the Bengalees. As is evident from the survey the older generations have inclinations for using Chakma with their Chakma friends. But ⁴ with the Bengalees, they are compelled to use Bengali. On the contrary 27.27% of the Chakma youths use Bengali for inter and intra community communication.

(iv) Worship : It is interesting that the Chakmas living in Kolkata and its adjoining areas are Buddhists in religion. This is the only domain where all of them consciously maintain Chakma while talking to their priests who are also members of the same speech community. But for performing rituals and chanting 'slokas' they switch over to Pali while with their fellow worshippers they also use Chakma.

(v) Education : So far education as a domain is concerned Chakma has less or no importance. All the Chakmas have to take either Bengali or English as their first language in schools no matter whether the schools are run by the Chakmas or non-Chakmas. The medium of instruction in schools is mainly Bengali or English. So, unlike the domain of worship where the use of Chakma dominates, the domain of education shows the maximum drop in the use of Chakma.

(vi) Workplace : Generally the use of Chakma by the Chakmas is totally nil in workplaces. As their population strength is not so huge as in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and as there are the increasing demand and popularity of language other than Chakma, they are gradually absorbing into the wider society by not maintaining their own code. But the organisations run by the Chakmas give ample opportunities to preserve Chakma.

We know that the following external factors or reasons always determine the nature and extent of the maintenance and shift of a language in bilingual settings. Here these factors are studied for the retention and shift of Chakma in the domains already discussed :

- (i) Strength of population
- (ii) Inter-racial marriage
- (iii) Far-reaching influence of modernity
- (iv) Settlement Patterns
- (v) Social status and prestige
- (vi) Job opportunity and higher education
- (vii) Integration with the majority community
- (viii) Ties with homeland

(i) Strength of population : As the Chakmas have migrated to the different parts of Kolkata, their population strength is not so remarkable as it is found in their motherland. This factor acts as a reason for their shift to Bengali.

(ii) Inter-racial marriage : Though in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, for their huge population strength, they marry within the tribal community, in Kolkata though they tend to maintain their tradition, a trend to be acculturated into the wider community by inter-racial marriage is visible. Surely this type of marriage does not guarantee the monolingual or monodialectal situation in domestic environment.

(iii) Far-reaching influence of modernity : Their living in a major city like Kolkata entails the development of bilingualism or bidialectalism among the Chakmas. Because in outdoor contacts there is a pressure to speak in a language other than Chakma as a mark of modern cosmopolitan living with the non-Chakmas in every sphere of life. Use of a language other than Chakma upholds how much they are close with the new urban life style.

(iv) Settlement Patterns : As already indicated the Chakmas are settled in different pockets of Kolkata and its adjoining areas. For living in a bilingual or bidialectal setting and also for their willingness to create a close proximity with the Bengalees, they have developed their bilingual or bidialectal competence in both Bengali and Chakma.

(v) Social status and prestige : From the field investigation it is found that not only the interlocutors involved in interactions but also the social status and prestige control their choice of language. 48.38% Chakmas consider social status and prestige as a factor for the increaseⁱⁿ the use of Bengali other than Chakma at home. Others give no opinion or strictly say “no” in this regard. Mainly the Chakma youths, born and brought up here, have given opinion that they use Bengali outside their home in spite of their own linguistic code for integration with the majority group i.e. the Bengalees. They have also strong aspirations for not to be treated as a tribe or backward class.

(vi) Job opportunity and higher education : It is evident that higher education and job opportunities have given rise to the bilingualism or bidialectalism among the Chakmas. As chakma is not included in the school syllabus of the government and the government aided schools and also in private English medium schools run by the non-Chakmas there are no prospects of higher education in Chakma. Even the present job scenario contributes to the widespread use of English, Hindi and Bengali in West Bengal and owing to this, Chakma has no importance at this juncture. These are the areas where all the Chakmas feel no urge

for maintaining Chakma. Consequently, shifting to Bengali, Hindi or English has been embedded in their life.

(vii) Integration with the majority community : The Chakma and the Bengalees have been living together peacefully for many years. The Chakmas always try to be assimilated with the Bengalees for creating a sense of unity and congenial atmosphere. This also promotes the use of the majority language.

(viii) Ties with homeland : The Chakmas living in Kolkata and its suburbs have no or very little contact with the Chittagong Hill Tracts, their homeland. 85.71% Chakmas from age group above 35 years have visited their homeland and 33.33% from age group upto 35 years have not visited it yet. Most of the Chakmas of older generations have visited their homeland but only a few of the younger generations have visited. So the higher the age, the greater the ties with the homeland and the contacts with the homeland among the younger generations are found to be less. As a result the younger generation Chakmas have acquired a native like control over Bengali than the older generation Chakmas have.

Conclusions

All the Chakmas living in and around Kolkata are more or less bilinguals or bidialectals and losing their grip on Chakma by shifting to Bengali either totally or partially. The Chakmas herein can be grouped into two categories :

- i) the Chakmas who are directly migrated from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh ; and
- ii) the Chakmas who are born and brought up here. The Chakmas, born and brought up here can be fallen into two categories :
 - a) whose parents are the direct immigrants and
 - b) whose grandparents are the direct immigrants.

Though born and brought up here the first group much more contributes to the retention of their mother tongue than the second group among whom the use of other language is in vogue. The maintenance of Chakmas is also prominent in the direct immigrants. Actually the Chakmas get no impetus or motivation to maintain and preserve their own speech in the world outside and so there is an urge to learn Bengali for wider group communications. Unconsciously a negative attitude towards their mother tongue is accelerated for present socio-economic and linguistic situations though for group loyalty and cohesiveness they at least try to use it wherever possible. Most of the Chakmas in Kolkata cannot even write and

read their own script. It is noticed from the present study that the use of Chakma is being on the wane. Though bilinguals or bidialectals, they think that if someone is asked a question in Chakma, he should answer it in Chakma. Even they are ready to encourage the non-Chakmas who want to learn Chakma. They have not set up any institution yet to spread the use of Chakma. When asked, they expressed their desire to support others if they want to do it. Consciously they believe that they cannot maintain their culture and identity if they stop using Chakma speech. But this study reveals that a favourable attitude to the language of the dominant group, i.e. the Bengalees, is being stronger in this present habitat. Their neighbourhood is peopled mainly by the Bengali community. In the midst of the Bengalees inter-racial links are nurtured. In the present socio-economic situation they can avail of the modern facilities which are the factors to flout their tribal traits and to identify themselves as the indispensable members of the main stream. So it is a fact that to keep up with their present life style all of them have become bilinguals or bidialectals. But as no detailed study has so far been done to give Chakma a status of either a full-fledged language or a dialect the question arises whether it is a case of bidialectalism or bilingualism.

5.3.0 LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

As Chakmas settled in Kolkata and its suburbs very often feel less or no affinity with their mother tongue due to several decisive socio-cultural factors. Their mother tongue is being passed into oblivion in a few cases. The host city where they live facilitates the use of the state language i.e. Bengali. So they are living in an ongoing process of linguistic and social changes. It appears from the present observation that the languages other than Chakma is a window to a new world of learning in modern times with the unbelievable progress of science and technology. They know that in many spheres of life the growing importance and needs of Bengali deter them from learning and using Chakma. So it is likely to be that some of them have strong inhibitions against their own native tongue. In spite of the above it is also true that Standard Colloquial Bengali and Chakma go hand in hand. For the analysis of data obtained, the variables already mentioned (section 5.2.2) in connection with language maintenance and shift emerge as important factors.

Hypotheses : The present study is based on the following hypotheses and therefore responses are elicited from these attitudinal statements :

- (a) Chakma is considered important for identifying the Chakma speakers with their own speech community for the maintenance of Chakma culture and identity.

- (b) Chakma script is not used in writing letters and invitation cards for marriage and other ceremonies.
- (c) Steps should be taken to teach the Chakma students, their mother tongue if they do not know it.
- (d) Chakmas are proud as Chakma speakers.
- (e) Chakmas should support the non-Chakmas to set up an institution to spread the use of Chakma.
- (f) In a cultural programme of the non-Chakmas, a Chakma speaker should deliver a speech or sing a song in Chakma, if he is requested to do this.
- (g) A Chakma speaker should encourage a non-Chakma speaker to learn Chakma if he is really interested in learning it.
- (h) One Chakma speaker criticizes the other Chakma speaker if he does not know Chakma.
- (i) No cultural functions are organized strictly where Chakmas use Chakma only (for example in performing music, debate etc.)
- (j) One can use the Bengali script for writing Chakma if he does not know the Chakma script.

Results of the Sample Survey :

All the hypotheses have been tested by the responses of the informants and on the basis of the above the following conclusions are drawn :

- (a) As per the analysis, irrespective of all variables like age, education, employment, socio-economic status, all the respondents show favourable attitudes towards Chakma as an unequivocal symbol of their linguistic and cultural identity. Scattered in Kolkata they are quite aware of the increasing use of Bengali. But in spite of the above factors they still think that they cannot maintain their Chakma culture and identity without using Chakma.
- (b) All the interviewees agree to the fact that the Chakma script is not used in writing letters and invitation cards for marriage and other ceremonies. Most of them end up using Bengali and English for ^{these} special purpose^s owing to their propensity to maintain Chakma. Investigation [^]into this area of language use upholds their assimilation into the cosmopolitan culture of the host city.
- (c) 65% respondents from the age-group of upto 25 years, 77% from the age-group of 26-36 years, 84% from the age-group of 36-60 years and 93% from the age-group

of above 60 years think that it is their duty to take necessary steps to teach Chakma to those Chakma people who do not know Chakma. As the age-groups differ in their attitudes towards the teaching of Chakma, the following conclusion can be drawn that in case of the Chakma-youths their attachment to the Bengali language and culture obtrude their desire to teach and learn Chakma.

- (d) The respondents show the highest response in the respect of the hypothesis that the Chakmas are proud as Chakma speakers. All of them hold the same opinion in this fact.
- (e) 93% respondents from age-group above 36 want Chakma institute to be set up by the non-Chakmas for the spread of their mother tongue. 46.08% respondents from age-group below 36 give different opinion. To them such institutes have no great significance in the present day social scenario as Chakma helps a little to build future to all the Chakmas living in Kolkata, a new home to them as the actual use of Chakma is very low.
- (f) All the Chakma interviewees are in favour of the fact that in a programme of non-Chakmas a Chakma speaker should perform in Chakma, if he is requested to do this. From this an interesting picture emerges. A considerable number of respondents even say that one should take preparation in advance if he knows his mother tongue a little. By doing this they can even maintain their distinctive identity and save their Chakma from total loss.
- (g) Hundred per cent respondents of all the categories strongly favour the learning of Chakma by a non-Chakma. There is no significant differences in different age-groups in their attitudes towards the above. This explores the fact that there is no dissonance in their attitudes towards learning Chakma by a non-Chakma no matter whether integrative or instrumental motivation led them to learn Chakma.
- (h) As is evident from the analysis, difference in age accounts for the change in attitudes towards Chakma. While 98.5% from the age-group above sixty criticize the Chakma speakers who do not know Chakma, most of the Chakmas from the age-group below sixty oppose this. It expresses a generation gap between them. It also implies the fact that ^{the greater the} isolation from their native place, ^{the} greater the love for language other than Chakma.
- (i) Only 35.5% of the Chakmas say that they organise cultural programmes strictly in Chakmas. Field observations indicate that a significant percentage of Chakma

population cannot do it due to their settlement pattern and population strength. So at this level, maintenance of Chakma is thwarted. So here, a majority shift to the dominant language.

- (j) A very high percentage of respondents i.e. 87.34% speakers from all groups uniformly think that Bengali script can be used for writing Chakma. Added to this, is the fact that they think that this procedure is a boon to them for the retention of Chakma in such a state where the Chakma script is going into oblivion to many of them. With fervent efforts they can only retain their speech in their day-to-day use.

CHAPTER – 6

Conclusion

6.1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is mainly concerned with the outcome of the present analysis and the utility of the study.

6.2.0 OUTCOME OF THE ANALYSIS

The first chapter introduces the topic. In the second chapter the phonological description of Kolkata Chakma is presented and for the sake of comparison the phonology of Rangamati Chakma is also given briefly. While describing, some phonological features which are common to both Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali have also been referred to (see section 2.3.0).

At the phonological level, it is noticed that all the seven vowels of Rangamati Chakma— / i, e æ, a, ɔ, o, u / have been retained in Kolkata Chakma. In both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, all the vowel phonemes can be distributed word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. Chittagong Bengali, like Rangamati Chakma also contains the above seven vowels, and shows the same distributional patterns. However, vowel length is not phonemic in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. The same feature is found in Chittagong Bengali too. One of the marked differences between Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma is that the former displays nasalization of vowels whereas the latter does not. Nasalization of vowels appears to be a feature acquired newly by the Chakmas residing in and around Kolkata. Thus there is a tendency of its being phonemic.

In relation to the consonants it is noted that the consonantal inventory of Kolkata Chakma consists of twenty two consonant phonemes and that of Rangamati Chakma comprises twenty-three consonant phonemes. Distributional patterns of consonants are separately restricted in each of Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. Such restricted distributions of consonants are also found in Chittagong Bengali. It is interesting to note that in Kolkata Chakma, the implosives / b', d', g' / and the glottal stop / ʔ / of Rangamati Chakma are not retained. The implosives / b', d', g' / are available in Chittagong Bengali. Furthermore, attention

should be drawn to the fact that the voiced aspirated stops / bh, dh, gh / replace the voiced implosives / b', d', g' / respectively in Kolkata Chakma. It can be assumed that this feature takes place due to the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali.¹

Geminate consonants are perceptible in both Rangamati Chakma and Kolkata Chakma and are distributed in a similar way i.e. word-medially. Twelve consonants viz. / k, g, tʃ, dʒ, t, d, p, b, n, m, l and ʃ / appear in gemination in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. In Chittagong Bengali also like Rangamati Chakma the consonants / k, g, dʒ, t, d, p, b, n, m, l, ʃ / appear in gemination. Further, gemination of / s / is not observed in Rangamati Chakma though it is a regular feature in Chittagong Bengali.

Both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma are characterised by the use of the same types of consonant clusters. They are restricted in word-initial and word-medial positions. But biconsonantal clusters are available in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. Like Rangamati Chakma, Chittagong Bengali too, exhibits consonant clusters word-initially and word-medially and here also all the clusters are biconsonantal only. Interestingly, in Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma, and also in Chittagong Bengali, palatal semi-vowel [y] and bilabial semi-vowel [w] help to form consonant clusters along with other consonants.

So far as the syllabic patterns of words are concerned it is worth noting that both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma are similar in types of syllable-structure they exhibit. It is important to mention that a single vowel only acts as the nucleus of a syllable in Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali.

In the third chapter brief morphological descriptions of Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma have been given. In addition, structural similarities of Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali at the morphological level are also taken into consideration in a nutshell. In this chapter the inflectional morphology is mainly exposed. In both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma inflections are used for number and case. Grammatical gender is absent in both. These also feature Chittagong Bengali. Categories of cases are similar in Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma and also in Chittagong Bengali as they all possess six cases—nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. In both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma the post position / tun / only is used to indicate the ablative case. The instrumental uses both case-endings and the post position / gori /. The rest use case-endings only. Every case has similar suffixes in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma (see sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.3.1.1).

In both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, nouns and pronouns are inflected for two numbers— singular and plural. There is a similarity between Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma in having the same plural markers— / -un ~ -gun /, / -ani ~ -gani /, / -dagi / and / -dayi /. In both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma nouns occur with numeral adjectives and adjectives of quantity are used in order to express plurality. Furthermore, it is to be noted that animacy and definiteness are two important criteria by which nouns are referred to. Some suffixes like / -buwɔ /, / -un ~ -gun / are added to both inanimate and animate nouns whereas the suffixes like / -ani ~ -gani / are not. To indicate indefiniteness, no suffix is added. But to refer to 'definiteness' of nouns the suffixes like / -buwɔ, ~ -uwɔ, -yan ~ -an / are added to nouns in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. / -buwɔ / is used after nouns ending in vowels, / r, ɽ and y /. / -uwɔ / is used after nouns ending in consonants except / r / and / ɽ /. / -yan / is used after inanimate nouns ending in vowels and / -an / is used after inanimate nouns ending in consonants (see sections 3.2.1.4 and 3.3.1.4). In the chapter on morphology, it has been mentioned that pronouns are characterised with three persons— first person, second person and third person— in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. It is important to mention that both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma comprise only two sets of second person pronouns— / thuy / and / thumi /. The former is used in less honorific sense and the latter is used in honorific sense. Further, the same form / thumi / is used in both singular and plural. There is a striking point of dissimilarity in Chittagong Bengali. It has three sets of personal pronouns in second person according to the degree of intimacy and honour. In Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali, we get six kinds of pronouns : personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Number and case distinctions of pronouns prevail in Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma and also in Chittagong Bengali (see sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.9).

As regards verb structures of Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma, and also of Chittagong Bengali, it can be said that base and inflections are the two basic constituents of the verb structures. In Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, verb bases end either in a consonant or in a vowel. Verb bases are also classified into three groups : simple base, conjunct base and compound base and they are formed in the same way in the above speeches. There are three tenses common to Kolkata Chakma, Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali. These are present tense, past tense and future tense. Different suffixes are added to the verb bases to make six inflectional categories of finite verbs in Rangamati Chakma whereas in

Kolkata Chakma we have only five such categories (see sections 3.2.5 and 3.3.5). Attention should be drawn to the fact that in Kolkata Chakma, simple past, present perfective and past perfective merge into a single category.

Both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma have decimal system for numerals. All the numerals are classified into six groups in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma : digits, tens, hundreds, thousands, lakhs and crores. Ordinals are also present in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. In the above two speeches cardinal numerals function as quantifiers. In relation to the use of ordinals in both of the speeches, it is observed that seldom are used ordinals which are actually Bengali ordinals in origin (see sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.3).

Both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma manifest only one mood and it is the imperative mood. Chittagong Bengali too expresses only one mood i.e. the imperative mood (see sections 3.2.6 and 3.3.6). Presence of duplicated verbs is a significant feature of both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. Interestingly, both take the suffixes /-te / or /-tæ / and /-de / or /-dæ / . /-te / or /-tæ / and /-de / or /-dæ / are phonologically conditioned. The suffix /-i / rarely helps to form duplicated verbs (see sections 3.2.7 and 3.3.7). In respect of the non-finite verbal system in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, it can be mentioned that perfective conjunctives, conditional conjunctives, and infinitives are brought into the category of non-finite verb forms. In this connection, it can be pointed out that the perfective suffixes are /-ney ~ -iney / and /-i / in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma as my data shows. The first two suffixes are phonologically conditioned. It is also remarkable that duplicated forms like / huli hulai / ‘having opened’, / degi dugay / ‘having seen’ etc. are also used as perfective conjunctives. All verbs, of course, do not show such kind of forms. As per my data both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma show two conditional suffixes /-le / or /-læ / and /-ile / or /-ilæ / and these two are phonologically conditioned. Lastly, both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma exhibit three ways to construct infinitive forms. Here the suffix /-te / is added to the verbal noun with the suffix /-bar / in the genitive form. The suffix /-do / or /-to / is added to the verb root. The use of the suffixes /-do / and /-to / is phonologically conditioned. In addition, verbal nouns without any suffix are used as infinitives (see sections 3.2.8 and 3.3.8). As regards the formation of negatives, it can be stated that both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma make use of two negative particles / nɔ / and / ney / and a negative verb / nɔy /. In this connection, it will be pertinent to mention that, in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma, the negative verb / nɔy / has no distinction of number and person. Chittagong Bengali has two negative

particles / no / and / nay / . The negative verb / no- / of Chittagong Bengali is affected by the change of person and number unlike that of Rangamati Chakma (see sections 3.2.9 and 3.3.9).

The chapter four gives a brief description and also comparison of the syntactical structures of Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. Furthermore, like the previous two chapters for obvious reasons as described in Sec 1.7.0 the chapter also aims at highlighting syntactical similarities between Rangamati Chakma and Chittagong Bengali very briefly. By comparing the word orders of Kolkata Chakma with those of Rangamati Chakma the following similarities are noticed : a) Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma are SOV speeches. b) Subject and predicate are generally the two essential constituents of a sentence. c) Verbless sentences are available. d) Imperative sentences do not have subjects generally. e) In interrogative sentences, verb comes after the subject as usual. f) When several nouns appear in a sentence and are joined together by the conjunction, the last noun takes the inflexion. g) The tense of the direct speech remains unchanged if the narration changes. h) If more than one noun or pronoun appear in a sentence, the conjunction is used just before the last noun. i) Subordinate clause follows the main clause. ^{op vice vaxa a-} j) Possessive and attributive adjectives precede the noun. k) The interrogative particle / hi / ‘what’ is preceded by the subject. Chittagong Bengali too bear the above syntactical features. Both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma are similar to each other regarding linking constructions. As my data shows coordinating conjunctions like / ar /, / o / ‘and’, / othoba / ‘or’, / hintu / ‘but’, / halik / ‘but’ and subordinating conjunction like / d3odi sale/thale / ‘if then ’, / d3ate / ‘that is why’, / sitte / ‘therefore’ etc. help to link either clauses or phrases together. Sentences of both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma fall into two categories as regards their structures : the simple sentence and the conjunctive sentence. It has been observed that in a simple sentence only one finite verb exists in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. Simple sentences are brought under two heads : the binomial sentence and the mononuclear sentence. Binomial sentence are of two types : the nominal sentence (here verb is not an essential constituent) and the verbal sentence (here a verb is a must). In a mononuclear sentence subjects do not appear. Conjunctive sentences are of two types— the complex sentence and the compound sentence in both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma. In respect to meaning, sentences of both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma are classified into seven categories— indicative, interrogative, imperative, optative, conditional, interjective and dubitative. Sentences of Chittagong Bengali too, like ^{those of} Rangamati Chakma are of the same structural and semantic types. With regard to the sentence negation, it can be pointed out that both Kolkata

Chakma and Rangamati Chakma allow NEG + V word order. In this regard Chittagong Bengali conform to Rangamati Chakma (see sections 4.2.4 and 4.3.4).

In the fifth chapter, it has been observed that linguistically Chakmas tend to identify themselves with the Bengali speech community. It is evident from the analysis that differences in age account for the change in attitudes towards Chakma in and around Kolkata. The older generations have strong mental attachment to their mother tongue while the younger generations have less. Yet, by and large, all of my Chakma informants expressed their pride as Chakma speakers.

In this chapter the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali on Kolkata Chakma has also been dealt with. So far as the influence of Standard Colloquial Bengali on Kolkata Chakma is concerned it is interesting to note that the phonology of Kolkata Chakma is the most affected level.

At the morphological and syntactical levels, it is found that both Kolkata Chakma and Rangamati Chakma possess, in general, the same features. But in Kolkata Chakma simple past, present perfective and past perfective have merged together into one single category unlike those of Rangamati Chakma.

So far as the lexis is concerned, it is worth noting that lexical borrowings are observed in a large number in Kolkata Chakma unlike Rangamati Chakma (see section 5.2.1.4).

6.3.0 LANGUAGE DECAY AND UTILITY OF THE STUDY

A fairly large number of Chakma speakers are living in Kolkata, and its outskirts from many decades. The Chakmas have mastery over all the four skills of Standard Colloquial Bengali, due to the fact that there is a regular contact between the Standard Colloquial Bengali speakers and the Chakma speakers since long. Chakmas constitute the most progressive race in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and among them the literacy rate is also high. It is a noted fact that migration, or settlement away from the native land leads to language / speech decay among the immigrants to a distant place. Chakmas relocated their habitat and took shelter in different parts of India. But on their way to a completely new home they did not consolidate in one area and the centre of gravitation remained in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On the other hand in case of Bengalees migrated from East Pakistan during and after the partition of the country in 1947, the socio-political factors helped them a lot to maintain their mother tongue in and outside the community. They are not even stripped of their cultural heritage. Moreover, linguistically they were under the same umbrella of Standard Colloquial Bengali and their centre of gravitation was not changed. But the Chakmas stand as an exception. No socio-

political factors have till now helped them to boost and revive the use of their speech among themselves in this new land. Later on, there have been a few individual efforts made by the Chakmas for the promotion and the maintenance of Chakma. Perhaps, there is a dilemma whether to treat Chakma as a separate language or a sub-dialect of Bengali. So the development of Chakma is very much dependent on that fact. For obvious reasons Chakmas are bilinguals or bidialectuals for social cohesion and mobility. Their communicative competence and performance in Standard Colloquial Bengali are highly praiseworthy. In addition to that, as already mentioned, the younger generations prefer to switch over to Bengali i.e. the dominant language. What is significant to note is that Kolkata Chakma is not totally different from Bengali on different levels of linguistic structure. Because of the structural similarities it is not difficult for the Chakmas to switch over to Bengali. In the present analysis, Chakmas have been reported for loss or replacement of Chakma words (see section 5.2.1.4). Chakmas are not literate in Chakma. So borrowings from Standard Colloquial Bengali are increasing day by day.

Now the similarities between SCB and KC will be highlighted.

At the level of lexis there are many common words. Some such words are given below:

Kolkata Chakma	Standard Colloquial Bengali	Gloss
alada	alada	'separate'
aga	aga	'tip'
ada	ada	'ginger'
abad	abad	'cultivated land'
am	am	'mango'
ostad	ostad	'master'
gun	gun	'quality'
gun gun	gun gun	'humming'
golap	golap	'rose'
gal	gal	'cheek'
guli	guli	'bullet'
durbin	durbin	'telescope'
dam	dam	'cost'
nim	nim	'neem'
na	na	'not'
nak	nak	'nose'
neta	neta	'leader'

nirog	nirog	'healthy', 'free from disease'
begun	begun	'brinjal'
bagan	bagan	'garden'
bad	bad	'rejected'
badam	badam	'groundnut'
buk	buk	'heart'
bil	bil	'lake'
bondi	bondi	'captive'
muni	muni	'saint'
mukti	mukti	'freedom'
madur	madur	'mat'
murubbi	murubbi	'leader'
mul	mul	'root'
mal	mal	'goods'
mala	mala	'garland'
mulo	mulo	'raddish'
mali	mali	'gardener'
rag	rag	'anger'
ragi	ragi	'angry'

At the phonological level it is observed that both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma possess the same seven vowel phonemes / i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o, u / and have the similar distributional patterns.² The long-short distinctions of vowels do not exist in both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma. The following consonant phonemes / p, b, t, d, k, g, tʃ, dʒ, bh, dh, gh, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, . / are found in both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma. Geminate consonants are found word-medially in both Standard Colloquial Bengali³ and Kolkata Chakma. Both Standard Colloquial Bengali⁴ and Kolkata Chakma are characterized by the use of consonant clusters which are restricted in word-initial and word-medial positions. So far as the syllabic patterns of words are concerned it is worth mentioning that both Standard Colloquial Bengali⁵ and Kolkata Chakma are similar in some types of syllable structures. These are v, cv, vc, $\overset{v}{c}c$, ccv, ccvc and cvcc.

At the morphological level, it is observed that both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma possess decimal system for numerals. In both Standard Colloquial Bengali

and Kolkata Chakma only two numbers of nouns and pronouns, viz., singular and plural, are observed. Six kinds of pronouns with person, number and case distinctions prevail in both Kolkata Chakma and Standard Colloquial Bengali. Both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma comprise six cases, viz., nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative. Post Positions and case-endings are used to mark different cases of nouns. Some case endings are common to both. For example, 'zero' suffix is used in the nominative case in both Kolkata Chakma and Standard Colloquial Bengali.

At the syntactical level, both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma show some similar traits. Some of these are the following : Both are SOV speeches. Verbless sentences can occur in both. Imperative sentences carry no subjects generally. Generally, a sentence contains a subject and a predicate. In interrogative sentences the verb is retained in its normal position. Two types of linking constructions— coordination and subordination—are observed in both Kolkata Chakma and Standard Colloquial Bengali. Simple and conjunctive sentences are found in both Kolkata Chakma and Standard Colloquial Bengali. Seven types of sentences expressing different functions are observed in both Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma.

On the basis of the above structural similarities it is clear that there is mutual intelligibility between Standard Colloquial Bengali and Kolkata Chakma. No linguistic movement ^{is there} for the retention and promotion of Chakma. Again, growing linguistic acculturation of Kolkata Chakma with Standard Colloquial Bengali, code-mixing and code-switching in Bengali, ^{lack of} socio-political patronage to safeguard Chakma, and disuse and functional attrition of Chakma in different domains of day-to-day life may lead to the decay of Chakma in and around Kolkata.

From this perspective it can be said that, as the Chakma is a scheduled tribe, a proper understanding of the Chakma speech and culture is very much necessary. It can be hoped that the present linguistic research on the Chakmas may help understanding the present linguistic state of the Chakmas residing in and around Kolkata. The investigation from the socio-linguistic point of view may also expose their attitudes towards the maintenance of their speech as a separate ethnic community. In addition, this kind of linguistic study of Chakma may also form a happy basis for future research on Chakma.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER 1 :

1. According to the 1991 census the population of Chakma as a Scheduled Tribe in Kolkata is 39. But according to my personal experience and as per information collected from “Shishu Karuna Sangha” (the only social organisation of the Chakmas in West Bengal, situated in Kolkata, which has contacts with most of the Chakma families), a few hundred Chakmas live in and around Kolkata.
2. Numbers of Chakma speakers according to the 1991 census in different States of India are presented below :

Arunachal Pradesh	:	30,062
Assam	:	5,153
Bihar	:	1
Madhya Pradesh	:	3
Manipur	:	5
Meghalaya	:	42
Mizoram	:	52,385
Punjab	:	1
Rajasthan	:	3
Sikkim	:	1
Tripura	:	95,250
West Bengal	:	11
Delhi	:	36

CHAPTER 2 :

1. According to Maniruzzaman (1984 : 76) the vowels of Chakma are the following :

	Front unrounded	Central	Back rounded
high	i		u
lower high	(I)	ə	(U)
mid	e		(o)
higher low	(E)		(O)
low		a	

Again he states (P. 76) that marginal phonemes are enclosed. To him (P. 76) / i, e, a, o, u / are equivalent to those of SCB. "Besides these, Chakma shows some other vowels to be treated as independent phonemes which are both front and back vowels..... One can also establish a schwa (ə) in a number of words. However, the states of these vowels are of marginal kind and some has minimal functional load" (P. 76).

2. In "Bengali Language Handbook" (Ray, Ray, Hai, 1966) the following vowels of Chittagong Bengali are presented :

high front unrounded	:	/ i /
mid front unrounded	:	/ e /
low central front unrounded	:	/ a /
low back rounded	:	/ ɔ /
mid back rounded	:	/ o /
high back rounded	:	/ u /

3. According to Maniruzzaman (1994 : 162), in Chakma the consonants are the following :

Voiceless stops	:	p, t, k, kh, ?
Voiced stops	:	b, d, g
Affricates	:	tʃ, dʒ
Glottal modification of stops	:	b', d', g'
Glottal modification of resonants	:	n', r', l'
Nasals	:	n, ŋ, m
Fricatives	:	ɸ, x, v, ʃ, h
Semi-vowels	:	w, y

/ h / is in free variation with 'x'. / s / is an allophone of / ʃ / in complementary distribution.

4. In "Bengali Language Handbook" (Ray, Ray, Hai, 1966), the following consonants of Chittagong Bengali are given :

bilabial nasal stop	:	/ m /
apico-alveolar nasal stop	:	/ n /
dorso-velar nasal stop	:	/ ŋ /
lamino-palatal trill, not fricativized	:	/ r /
apico-alveolar lateral stop	:	/ l /
apico-alveolar hissing sibilant, not lamino-prepalatal	:	/ s /

apico-alveolar hissing sibilant, never affricated	: / c /
voiced counterpart of / c /	: / j /
lamino-prepalatal hissing sibilant	: / s /
voiced counterpart of / s /	: / z /
voiceless bilabial fricative	: / φ /
voiced counterpart of / φ /	: / β /
voiced bilabial stop	: / b /
voiceless dorso-velar fricative	: / x /
voiceless dorso-velar stop	: / k /
voiced dorso-velar stop	: / g /
voiceless retroflex alveolar stop	: / ʈ /
voiced counterpart of / ʈ /	: / ɖ /
voiceless apico-dental stop	: / t /
voiced counterpart of / t /	: / d /
glottal trill	: / h /
voiced glottal fricative	: / ʔ /
relatively high front unrounded non-syllabic voiced	: / y /
relatively high back rounded non-syllabic voiced	: / w /
implosives	: / mʰ, nʰ, bʰ, gʰ, ʈʰ, ɖʰ, tʰ and dʰ /.

CHAPTER 3 :

1. According to Maniruzzaman (1994 : 164) case markers of Chakma are / -φ /, / -ore /, / -odi /, / -otun /, / -or /, / -e / or / -ot / or / -te /, / -ora / etc.
2. Maniruzzaman (1994 : 164) has also mentioned that the plural marker of Chakma is / - un /.
3. Maniruzzaman (1994 : 64) also stated that tenses are three in number in Chakma. These are present tense, past tense and future tense.
4. Verb forms vary according to person and number (Maniruzzaman 1994 : 163).

CHAPTER 5 :

1. In order to explain acculturation A. Richard Diefold, Jr. (Incipient Bilingualism, In : Dell Hymes, 1964 : 495) states, "Contact and convergence between two different languages or cultures results in a sociological situation wherein the same individual learns elements from a linguistic or cultural system other than his native system. Linguists

refer to this learning situation as **language contact** and to the particular learning process as **bilingualization**. The individuals so involved are called **bilingual**. Linguistic change resulting from such contact is called **borrowing** or **interference**. Anthropologists refer to the learning situation as **culture contact** and to the particular learning process as **acculturation**. The locus is again the individual culture carrier, who, in a situation of culture contact, is sometimes called **bicultural**. Change in a culture resulting from acculturation is referred to as **borrowing**.”

2. SCB consonants are presented in the note 1, Chapter 6
3. The Questionnaire Bank for Sociolinguistic Surveys in India, 1984. CIIL has been used for the purpose.

CHAPTER 6 :

1. The consonant phonemes of SCB are the following : / p, b, t, d, ʈ, ɖ, k, g, tʃ, dʒ, ph, bh, th, dh, ʈh, ɖh, tʃh, dʒh, kh, gh, ʃ, h, m, n, ŋ, r and l / (Bhattacharya, 1993 : 8)
2. SCB vowel phonemes are / i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o and u / (Bhattacharya, 1993 : 7).
3. Bhattacharya (1993 : 22) mentions : “In SCB geminate consonants are fifteen in number. All these geminate consonants occur word-medially.....”
4. As regards SCB consonant clusters, Bhattacharya (1993 : 24) opines, “The two consonantal clusters are thirtysix in number. Out of them thirteen clusters are restricted to occur word-initially only and two occur in the word-medial position.”
5. The following are the SCB syllabic structures : v, cv, cvc, vc, ccv, ccvc, cccv, cccvc, cvcc, vv, cvv, vvc, cvvc, ccvv, ccvvc, cccvv (Bhattacharya, 1993 : 28).

APPENDIX – I

SCRIPT OF CHAKMA

৓ কা	ৗ খা	৑ গা	৙ ঘা	৕ ঙা
৒ চা	৘ ছা	৒ জা	৙ ঝা	৒ ঞা
৕ টা	৑ ঠা	৒ ডা	৑ ঢা	৒ ণা
৑ তা	৑ থা	৑ দা	৑ ধা	৑ না
৑ পা	৑ ফা	৑ বা	৑ ভা	৑ মা
৑ যা	৑ রা	৑ লা	৑ হ্লা	৑ সা, শা
৑ হা	৑ য়া	৑ ং	৑ ঃ	৑ ং
৑ আ	৑ ই	৑ উ	৑ এ	৑ ওয়া

APPENDIX - 2

EXAMPLES OF CHAKMA PROVERBS IN THE CHAKMA SCRIPT

1. ဂူစို ကုရမိ ဗုဒ္ဓံ ဗဟံ
ကမ ကုရမိ ဟိန္ဒဝံ ဗဟံ ၊

Meaning : Blue are the hills those are far from us. (Relatives who live far from us are dearer than those who live nearby.)

2. 360 300 ଟନ
1000 200 ଟନ ।

Meaning : Everybody wants to live among the people who^m he likes.

3. သင်္ကေတ ကိစ္စများ ပတ်သက် အဖွဲ့

Meaning : Familiarity breeds contempt.

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